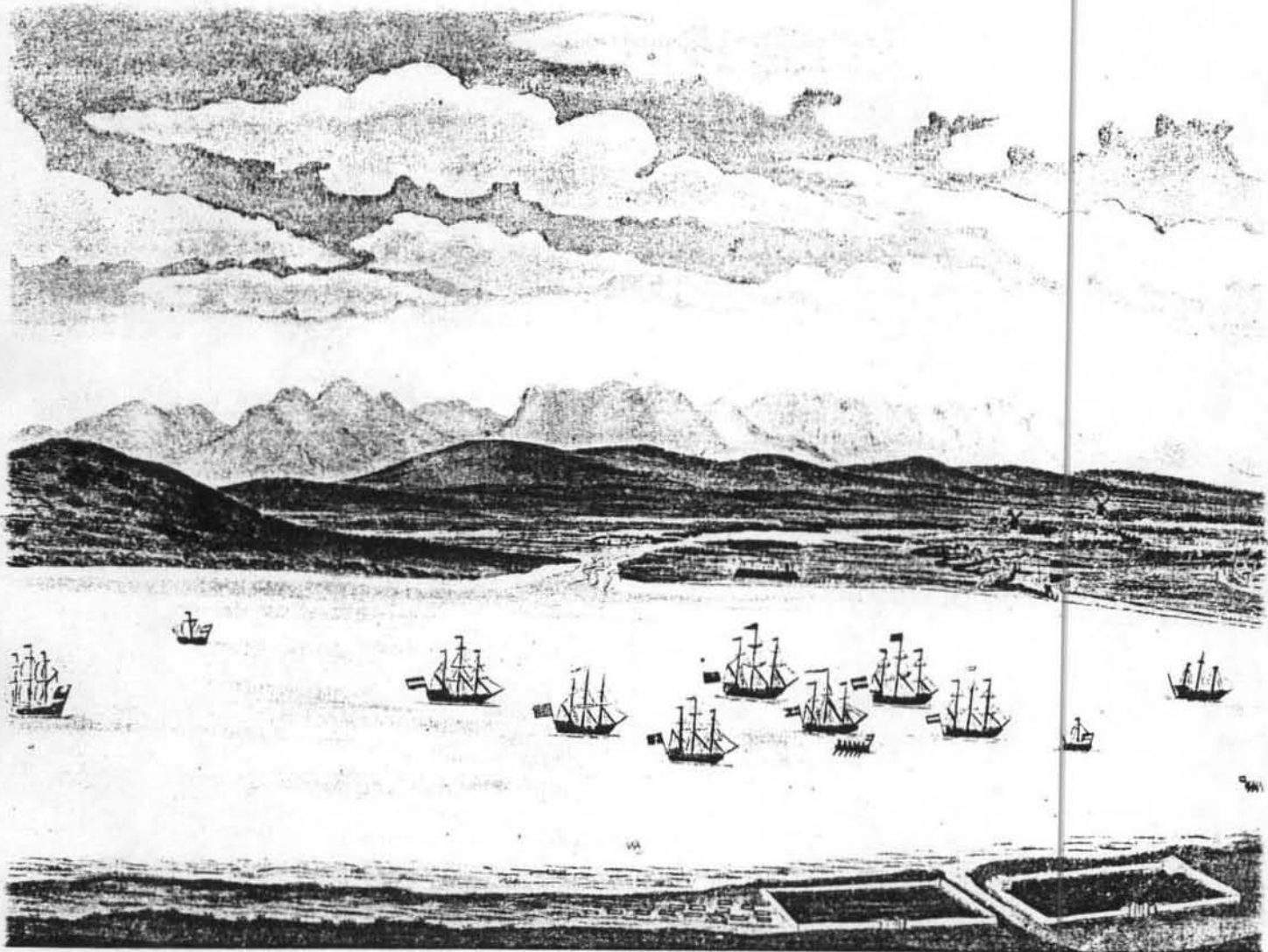


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*Identifying the Dead: Eighteenth Century
Mortuary Practices at Cobern Street, Cape
Town*



By Heather Apollonio

DISSERTATION

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Archaeology
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Abstract:

A unique opportunity to study historic burial practices in Cape Town arose in 1994 when construction activities at Cobern Street, Green Point revealed an eighteenth century burial ground. Subsequent salvage excavations unearthed approximately 65 burials and scattered skeletal material (both historical and precolonial) representing a total of 121 individuals. A variety of cultural material was found with the burials. The following is a summary of the excavation activities, and a detailed description of the burial patterns and grave goods unearthed at the site. An attempt is made to construct a cultural identity for the Cobern Street burials, and to determine what, if anything, burial practices have to contribute to our understanding of eighteenth century colonial society.

The burial patterns were divided into four analytical categories, covering a spectrum ranging from the Later Stone Age to the end of the eighteenth century. The artefacts are divided into six groups; Later Stone Age artefacts, coffin hardware, burial items, clothing accessories, personal items (excluding clothing residues), and intrusive items. Burial items and artefacts are considered against the spatial layout of the site to determine that Cobern Street was used as an informal cemetery by lower class members of Colonial Cape society, primarily during the eighteenth century.

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la vie ne protège pas de la mort
la beauté ne protège pas de la mort
la réussite ne protège pas de la mort
la vie s'en vient
la vie s'en va

-ismaël lo 1994

For Nana and for Bobby

Definition of Terms

Assegai: Spear

Burgher (Freeburgher): A colonist, generally Dutch speaking and of European ancestry

Bushman: Term used by early Europeans at the Cape to describe the indigenous people at the Cape (usually the *San*)

Begraafplaats: Burial Ground

Dagga: Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*)

Freeblack: A member of the freed slave community, an ex-convict, or an ex-political prisoner

Hottentot: Term used by early Europeans at the Cape to describe the indigenous people at the Cape (usually the *Khoikhoi*)

Kerkhof: Graveyard, Churchyard, or Cemetery

Khoikhoi (Khoi): (Literally: "the real people" or "real men") Pastoral herders whose material culture is traced at the Cape from approximately two thousand years ago

Khoisan: People of *Khoi*, *San* or mixed ancestry

Kraal: Mobile village associated with the *Khoikhoi*; stock pen

Malay: An imprecise term used for a slave or freed slave from Malaysia, or of Islamic origin

San: Hunter-gatherers indigenous to southern Africa

Slaaven: Slaves

Soaqua: See *San*

Soldaten: Soldiers

Veldkos: Wild plant food

Abbreviations

- ACO:* Archaeology Contracts Office
AR: Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague
ASL: African Studies Library
CA: National Archives Depot Cape Town
DO: Deeds Office
DRC: Dutch Reformed Church
NMC: National Monuments Council
OES: Ostrich Eggshell
UCT: University of Cape Town
VOC: Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (United Netherlands
Chartered East India Company)

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I might as well ask: do the dead know that they are dead?
No: to the dead it is not given to know anything.
But in our own sleep we may at least be visited by intimations.

-J.M. Coetzee 1990

Introduction

The Cape Colony was a slave owning society that served as a port of call to ships travelling between Europe and the East Indies. It was home first to the indigenous Khoisan community that would be absorbed in to the colonial labour force, and later to Europeans and slaves drawn predominantly from East Africa and Southeast Asia. Cape Town was simultaneously a refreshment station, military garrison, farming community, business centre, and penal colony. Eighteenth century Cape Town was highly stratified in life, and death. Some people were denied access to the formal church cemetery, and had to make use of the open, adjacent areas. Cobern Street appears to be one such informal burial ground, which disappeared under nineteenth century urban expansion, and was forgotten.

In late 1994, Alan Morris, of the Department of Anatomy and Cell Biology at the University of Cape Town (UCT), responded to a report that human skeletal remains were being illegally disturbed at a construction site in Green Point, Cape Town. Morris's response to the

report eventually led to the excavation of sixty-three intact graves (representing 121 individuals), dating to both the Later Stone Age (LSA), and the mid-eighteenth century. The result proved to be an invaluable collection, as it is the largest collection of human burials dating to the colonial period excavated *in situ* in Cape Town, or southern Africa. Cobern Street presents an important opportunity to study the lives, and deaths, of the common people of Cape Town, as well as the complex social dynamics of the colonial Cape.

Internationally, historical cemeteries have been the focus of research for the last twenty years (c.f.: Jamieson 1995; Watters 1994, 1987; Harrington 1993; Bell 1990; Dethlefsen 1992, 1981; McGuire 1988; Handler & Lange 1978; Francavaiglia 1971). Cemeteries have been the focus of studies on religious and cultural change, class differentiation, and local attitudes towards community, kin and status. In addition, they provide valuable information on demographics, dietary patterns, pathologies, stress and overall quality of life (Nawrocki 1995; Saunders *et al* 1995; Handler 1994; Sealy *et al* 1993; Rose & Hartnady 1991; Morris 1989; Thomas *et al* 1977). Cemetery studies are particularly relevant to Cape Town, which saw myriad groups (indigenous populations, East Asian and African slaves, and European colonists) influence each other culturally. Examining burial practices at the Cobern Street site will demonstrate both a cultural creolization and a resiliency of indigenous cultures at the Cape.

The Archaeology Contracts Office (ACO) at the University of Cape Town (UCT) has undertaken a number of investigations of historical Cape cemeteries (Halkett & Hart 1995; Halkett, Hart & Malan 1995; Hart & Halkett 1996ab). Despite the ACO's excavations, no in-depth

study of historical burial practices has been undertaken in Cape Town. The goal of this project is to fill that void by providing information on burial practices in eighteenth and nineteenth century Cape Town. This will be accomplished by combining documentary evidence with the cultural material and written field notes derived from the Cobern Street excavation.

International literature regarding funerary archaeology, both internationally and locally, will be examined (Chapters 1 & 2). A background history of the Cape colony will be used to illustrate that colonial Cape Town was a diverse and dynamic creole community, and to ascertain who may have come to rest at the Cobern Street Burial Ground (Chapter 3). A site background will be provided (Chapter 4), followed by a detailed description of the burial patterns and grave goods (Chapter 5). Finally, Chapter 6 will attempt to address who was interred at Cobern Street, and by whom, and what distinctions, if any, can be made between the various groups comprising the lower classes of colonial society. Additionally, the social and symbolic meaning behind specific burial patterns, and the use of grave goods will be discussed.

It is not expected that this thesis will be the final identification of those interred at the site, but will rather be a point of departure. Only after the physical anthropological and isotopic analysis is completed will we be able to say with some certainty who was buried at the Cobern Street burial ground.

Chapter 1 : International Literature & Theory

Archaeologists have been concerned with mortuary practices for many years. In 1784, Thomas Jefferson conducted what is believed by many to be the first scientific archaeological excavation in the United States when he examined a Native American burial mound, near the Rivanna River in Virginia, in order to determine the origins of the 'Moundbuilders' (Orser & Fagan 1995). In the proceeding two centuries, human burial practices have continued to fascinate archaeologists. This is not surprising considering the wealth of information to be gleaned from a properly excavated grave, frequently unavailable from other sources. Burial practices inform us about demographics, health, diet and disease, and over all quality of life. They can also elucidate more abstract notions such as ideological beliefs and practices, social organisation, and interaction between the living and the dead (Beck 1995b; Cannon 1989; O'Shea 1984; Parrington 1987; Jacobsen & Cullen 1981; Dethlefsen 1981). Contemporary themes in mortuary analysis include the examination of group dynamics and class differentiation, and culture change over time (Jamieson 1995; Little *et al* 1992; McGuire 1988). This chapter will explore some of the current themes in mortuary analysis and how such sites can be interpreted, and detail a few of the sites most suitable for comparisons with the Cobern Street burial ground.

Themes and Interpretations of Mortuary Ritual

The first evidence of intentional burial of the dead appears during the Mousterian, approximately 90,000 years ago (Smirnov 1996). This may also represent emergence of a human spiritual belief system, as the two are essentially linked. It would have been at this point that human culture began to undergo fundamental change and development. Intentional disposal of the dead implies a developing sense of unity and social obligation that would necessitate such behaviour (Smirnov 1996).

Burial grounds are an excellent medium for understanding past behaviour and community structure for it is "here the commingling of the skeletal remains of the deceased reflect the social collectivity of the living. This is an important point raised time and again in mortuary analysis: the deceased are a fossilised image of the living society from which they are drawn" (Larsen 1995: 249). A burial ground is a finite and controlled set of data set from which the archaeologist can begin to form questions about culture and community (Dethlefsen 1981). The ritual activities involved in disposing of the dead reflect social structure and organisation, negotiations and maintenance of power, exchange between living members of a community, and ideological beliefs and practices (Brown 1995; Trinkhaus 1995; Cannon 1989; Parrington 1987; Jacobsen & Cullen 1981).

Archaeological analysis of mortuary patterns has focused on the reflection of social status in a community's burial rituals (Jacobsen & Cullen 1981; Orton & Hodson 1981). The danger of such an approach is that patterns may easily be misread if the historical context of a site is unknown. The archaeological record is not objective, and mortuary practices (as with other forms of cultural expression) may change rapidly

in response to myriad internal and external influences, including social, demographic, technological and economic conditions (Brown 1995; Cannon 1989; Hodder 1986; Pearson 1982).

Mortuary archaeology, in order to enlighten and inform about the past, must be integrated into a more general archaeology research design. "Funerary activities must be perceived as significant and dynamic elements in the social life of communities that influence and in turn were acted upon by political, economic, and environmental realities of the society" (O'Shea 1984: 126). By focusing on single sites, the potential exists to overlook the historical trajectory a cemetery is part of by arbitrarily isolating funerary activities from other social activities, overlooking distinctions between "significant" from "idiosyncratic" patterns of mortuary differentiation, and failing to distinguish temporal changes, leading to an inert interpretation of mortuary practices (O'Shea 1984).

Archaeological Investigations of Historical Cemeteries

Over the last 20 years historical cemeteries have become an increasingly important source of information about the past. The following section is not a comprehensive literature survey, but rather details a sample of the work undertaken on historical period burial grounds, focusing on those which bear relation to the Cobern Street project.

Francaviglia explored the notion of *The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape* (1971), noting that segregation in death appears to be as much reality in America as segregation in life. Deetz, Dethlefsen & McGuire (among others) examined gravestones for stylistic transitions as representative of religious and cultural changes, class differentiation, and

local attitudes towards community, kin and status (Brown 1995; Dethlefsen 1992, 1981; Deetz 1979). McGuire, in particular, has cited mortuary display as a medium for dialogue between the living and the dead, furthering the social struggle between the upper classes and the powerless (McGuire 1988). In his 1995 overview of African American Burial practices, Jamieson identifies mortuary remains as ritual communication of social values, and promotes the necessity of an "ethnohistorical" approach to understand them. Individual status, modes of death, rites of passage, and group affiliations are identified as the focus of mortuary archaeology since the 1960's, and he appropriately observes that their relationship with mortuary practices is not a distinct one (Jamieson 1995).

In 1992, Little, Lanphear and Owsley published the results of an examination of a nineteenth century Anglo-American cemetery in Manassas, Virginia. The cemetery, used by the Weir family between the 1830's and 1907, was excavated at the request of the family members. There were twenty-four burials aligned in three rows, with the heads oriented west, interred 1.9m to 2.7m below the surface. Fifteen of the graves were marked by head, and occasionally footstones. They were coffins interments, fifteen of which were hexagonal in outline, and another eight were rectangular in outline. One of the coffins was cast-iron, another was lead and tin with a wooden frame, and the rest were constructed of wood. Dental patterns which are representative of a diet high in refined sugar was used to support the conclusion that the individuals buried here were from a relatively affluent family.

Contemporary mortuary trends and cultural attitudes towards death were used to interpret variation in the cemetery. As the economic status of the

family decreased, outlay on funeral rites increased. The four styles of grave decoration mirror the Victorian era "beautification of death" phenomenon from its advent to its decline (Little *et al* 1992). However, establishing the significance of the mortuary patterns was possible because the historical context of the site and the dates of many of the graves were known. Without such information, stylistic changes may just have easily been attributed to inter-site variability.

The Harney site slave cemetery in Monserrat (part of the British West Indies) dates to the late eighteenth century. Seventeen individuals were identified; ten of which were from *in situ* graves, during a six day salvage excavation in June 1979 (Watters 1994).

Seven of the burials were clearly interred in separate graves, and an additional three, though buried in close proximity, were probably individual interments as well. It appears that they were likely all extended on their backs with the heads pointing west, and the feet east. The hands were generally positioned at the sides of the body or over the pelvis. Due to the disturbance of the site caused by construction, it was not possible to determine the original depth or the exact positioning of all the burials (Watters 1994). One hundred and three artefacts (eighty six percent of which were nails or nail fragments, supporting the likelihood of coffin interment) were discovered at the site, yet it is unlikely most of them were intentionally placed grave goods. Green stains on three frontal bones and one clavicle were probably left by copper alloy shroud pins.

The fact that the site was unmarked, and that there were few material remains (such as buttons and other items of clothing) has led to the interpretation that the site was used by low-status individuals. This

conclusion is supported by pathological evidence that the individuals belonged to a stressed, enslaved, black population (Watters 1994).

In 1991, a construction project undertaken by the federal General Services Administration in Lower Manhattan, New York City, led to the unearthing of what has been named the African Burial Ground. The cemetery had been established around 1712 just outside city limits, to be used by slaves who had been denied church burials since 1697 (Jamieson 1995). The burials appeared 16 feet to 28 feet below street level, with many stacked one on top of the other, an urban mortuary practice of the period. It has been estimated that twenty thousand blacks and lower-class whites were buried at the site between 1712 and 1790 (Harrington 1993).

Over four hundred burials were recovered, and a vast majority had been interred in hexagonal wooden coffins. The bodies were extended on their backs with the hands folded over the body or at sides, on an East-West axis (Epperson 1996; Harrington 1993; M. Blakey, personal communication). There were no grave markers, and except for wood, coffin nails, and numerous copper-alloy shroud pins, there were few artefacts in direct association with the burials (Epperson 1996; Harrington 1993). One woman had been buried with a belt or girdle of cowry shells and glass trade beads. However, despite the fact that African-Americans seemed to have been in control of funerary practices, there is little material evidence of African influences (Epperson 1996; Jamieson 1995). Further, fifteen individuals had modified teeth, a practice which can be traced back to Africa (Handler 1994).

The slave burial ground at Newton Plantation was excavated in the 1970's, and is to date the only plantation slave cemetery discovered in Barbados, and the largest undisturbed slave cemetery excavated in the Americas (Handler 1997). The site was used as a burial ground between about 1660 and 1820. One hundred and four individuals were exhumed, and a large portion of the site was left unexplored.

Less than one third of the burials, virtually all of which were extended in a supine position, were interred in coffins (Handler 1997, 1996).

Most of the Newton graves had no artefacts. Of those that did, clay pipes appeared most frequently (Handler 1997; Jamieson 1995; Handler & Lange 1978). One of the graves richest in terms of intentionally placed grave goods was Burial 72. The grave dated to late 1600's or early 1700's and many of the artefacts do not appear to be of European origin (Handler 1997). In West Africa, food and drink, pottery, containers, cloth, mats, tobacco, gold dust, beads, cowry shells, jewellery and personal possessions (knives, pipes etc.) are all common grave goods. Quantity, quality and types vary according to the wealth and social status of the deceased. These items were included in graves to be used as gifts to ancestors, to assist in the trip to and life in the spirit world, and to ensure that the deceased maintained the same social position in death as in life (Handler 1997). This has led Handler to observe that although the slave owners probably designated the area to be used as a cemetery, the slaves were not likely hindered in burying their dead according to their own customs, enabling West African traditions to carry over into New World practices (Handler 1997).

From Newton, there were five cases of dental mutilation, a practice that Handler has shown, through the analysis of "slave ads" in eighteenth

century newspapers from five mainland British colonies, were an indicator of African birth (Handler 1994). The practice of dental mutilation has been reported in the Pacific and Asia; the pre-Colombian New World; and East, West, Southwest and Central Africa (Handler 1994). In Africa, dental mutilation has been practised on both men and women primarily for aesthetic reasons. The practice does not occur in the New World, and is not seen in Creole slaves (Handler 1994).

These sites, particularly the New York city and Barbados burial grounds, show significant similarities to the Cobern Street site, both in observed burial patterns, and historical circumstances. As such, comparative research could prove to be valuable in understanding the histories of the populations in a broader global context.

Chapter 2 : Historical Archaeology, Cultural Resource Management and Mortuary Archaeology in South Africa

Historical Archaeology and Cultural Resource Management

Definitions of historical archaeology have been formulated and contested since the field was conceptualised as a discipline in the 1960's. These range from the subsidiary 'handmaiden to history,' to the archaeology of European expansion and its impact, and most recently the 'archaeology of the modern world' (c.f. Orser 1996; Deetz 1991; Noël Hume 1969, 1964). Some believe that "the appellation 'historical archaeology' should only serve to indicate that non-archaeological source material is supplementing archaeological interpretations" (DeCorse 1996:42). However, the unifying thread seems to be a multi-disciplinary approach to the more recent past. Techniques borrowed from history, sociology, architecture, geology, statistics, art history, and linguistics are used to address an anthropological research agenda and to provide a broader and more detailed view of the past (often blurring disciplinary boundaries). Research within the field includes the study of culture dynamics and social history, and the examination of ethnicity and identity formation. The social and symbolic roles of material culture are examined in a search for human thoughts and ideas. The role of history is to understand

human action and the subjective meaning behind historical events. Archaeology, as unconscious or undocumented history, relies on material remains to “illuminate elements of daily life that are normally concealed” (Leone *et al* 1987: 291).

As in the United States, historical archaeology in South Africa developed initially to provide supplementary information for historic conservation projects (Malan 1993). Although the field does have an important role to play in restoration and conservation projects, its applications have a far wider reach. Historical archaeologists engage with material culture in a way that other fields do not. They examine the symbolic and social role of material culture. It is not enough to merely identify and date an object; rather the goal is to first understand its symbolic and cultural meaning, and then to see how it fits into a larger world view.

In attempting to understand the human condition, historical archaeology takes into account the various ‘others’ of the past, those who may not be heard in other disciplines because they speak predominantly through symbols and actions, rather than written words. Research in Cape Town and its environs has focused on ordinary citizens; women, soldiers, servants, and slaves (c.f.: Markell, Hall & Schrire 1995; Malan 1993; Markell 1993; Sealy *et al* 1993; Hall 1989; Seeman 1992; 1989; Schrire 1987), providing a voice for those who often end up as little more than a footnote in historical texts.

Historical Archaeology and Cultural Resource Management

Most historical archaeology in the Cape Town area has taken place as a result of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) projects. It is undeniable that without these projects, urban renewal would rapidly destroy Cape Town's cultural heritage. However, there are a number of limitations inherent in CRM archaeology. In most cases, the emphasis is on reconnaissance without the development of a proper research paradigm. It is often impossible to re-examine the site for clarity once the contract has been completed, both because archaeology is inherently destructive, and because sites often disappear beneath new buildings and roads. Excavators are frequently not involved in the analysis and interpretation of the resulting collection, as money is not often available for a further analysis. If a detailed analysis is undertaken, it is often conducted as a post-graduate project. Conversely, the analysts are often not present during the excavation. In many cases, after an initial site report is submitted, no further analysis takes place. Most historical sites excavated in Cape Town were done so as CRM projects¹. Consequently there is a dire need to develop an integrated, multi-disciplinary research design for historical sites², similar to that which exists for pre-contact sites. The blame should not lie with the contractors, who perform an invaluable service; rather the burden lies with the academic community, and the manner in which CRM work is conceptualised, implemented and evaluated.

¹ Notable exceptions include Oudepost I (Schrire 1987), Vergelegen (Markell, Hall & Schrire 1995; Markell 1993) and Paradise (Hall *et al* 1993) excavations carried out by Rutgers University and the University of Cape Town, respectively.

² Steps towards this end have been made with the formation of the Historical Archaeology Research Group (HARG) in 1988 and the Research Unit for the Archaeology of Cape Town (RESUNACT) in 1996.

Mortuary Archaeology in the Cape Town Area

Over the past fifteen years, historical burial grounds in Cape Town have been the subject of a number of investigations (c.f.: Cox & Sealy in press; Hart & Halkett 1996a; Hart & Halkett 1996b; Cox 1995; February 1995; Halkett & Hart 1995; Hart & Halkett 1995; Sealy *et al* 1993; and Abrahams 1983). These studies have ranged in scope from archival surveys to full scale investigations, but no in depth study of historical skeletal material, or colonial burial practices has taken place (Hart & Halkett 1996a; Sealy *et al* 1993). The lack of formal research into mortuary practices is surprising considering the availability of material and the potential contributions to be made towards understanding perceived social status, cultural and religious attitudes, and variability of preferences over time.

Archaeology Contracts Office Investigations

The Archaeology Contracts Office (ACO) at the University of Cape Town (UCT) has investigated seven burial grounds over the past three years. These were the Valkenberg Vault in Observatory; the Cloete Cemetery and Colijn Vault at Groot Constantia Farm; the Cobern Street burial ground; the English Church Cemetery associated with Saint George's Church; the Ebenezer Church Cemetery; and the South African Missionary Society Cemetery on Ebenezer Road. The last four were Somerset Road burial grounds (c.f.: Chapter 6).

In 1996 the ACO was contracted to investigate two cemeteries on behalf of the owners of Groot Constantia, an eighteenth century manor approximately 20km south of central Cape Town, as they were both in a severely neglected state (Hart & Halkett 1996a). The Cloete Cemetery

was the eighteenth and nineteenth century burial ground of the Cloete family. The graveyard has a walled enclosure which contained curved vaults built of brick, conventional graves with memorial stones, and two rectangular brick tombs. The investigation involved removing rubble and overburden from the site and recording the dimensions and other important features of the graves.

The second cemetery investigated at Groot Constantia was the Colijn Vault (Hart & Halkett 1996a). The focus of this project was to excavate the deposits surrounding the vault to determine the original land surface, and to temporarily exhume the contents of the vault while the interior was restored. During excavations the remains of another vault were discovered, and it became clear that there were probably several others in the area. Within the vault were brick coffin stands and the remains of several wood coffins, coffin hardware (in some cases rather ornate), and human skeletal material. Due to the absence of most of the major bones, it is clear that the vault had been vandalised and looted. No detailed studies were made of the skeletal or coffin remains, except to estimate the number of individuals present.

Including Cobern Street, the ACO has investigated four of the eighteenth and nineteenth century cemeteries along Somerset Road. In 1995 they were contracted to assess the Victoria Junction site at the corner of Ebenezer Road and Prestwich Street near Somerset Road (Halkett & Hart 1995). This was the land formerly occupied by the English Church Cemetery, and the Ebenezer Church Cemetery. The land for the English Church Cemetery was granted in 1832 and the Ebenezer Church Cemetery was established in 1840 (Hart & Halkett 1995).

A series of 1m x 2m randomly placed test pits were excavated to determine the presence or absence of human skeletal material. The deposit sequence turned out to be similar to that seen at Cobern Street - light sands over dark clayey soil with ferruginous inclusions (Hart & Halkett 1995). The remains of brick and stone vaults, and wooden coffins were identified. In addition to several relatively intact graves, there was scattered and fragmented human skeletal material in the soil deposits, a phenomenon also observed at Cobern Street. Unlike Cobern Street, there was evidence that exhumations had taken place, presumably early in the twentieth century. Further, there was no evidence of the funerary monuments that once existed at the site. However, several *in situ* burials were discovered and the orientation was determined for two burials. The lower burial was oriented with the head towards Signal Hill, with the shallower burial apparently oriented in the opposite direction. No grave goods were recovered from the site, and none of the exposed skeletal material was removed (Halkett & Hart 1995).

A Phase I archaeological investigation was conducted at the former site of the South African Missionary Society Cemetery in 1996 (Hart & Halkett 1996b). The cemetery was established in 1818 to inter 'slaves and heathens' who converted to Christianity but were not permitted burial in the official VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) graveyards. The focus of the investigation was to determine the time span of use and who was interred at the cemetery, and whether or not the bodies had been exhumed after the cemetery was closed. Test excavations revealed that exhumations had taken place although a small sample of disarticulated skeletal material and coffin fragments were unearthed, among other scattered cultural material related to later historical activities.

The Vredendal burial ground (Vredendal Erf 19), 300km north of Cape Town, was excavated by Mike Wilson and Bill van Rijssen of the South African Museum (February 1995; Morris 1992b). The burial ground was used between 1837 and 1920, and contained forty-five individuals, twenty-seven of which were infants up to two years of age. All the graves were marked with a head and foot stone, and some had a pile of stones over the grave. Three types of graves were recorded at the site; step, niche and shaft. The step graves had a trench excavated in the base of the grave shaft, leaving a step on either side. The body was placed in the trench and wooden boards were placed over the step. In the niche graves, an alcove was cut into the base of the grave shaft in which the body was placed. The niche was often sealed with flagstones and occasionally planks. The shaft graves were rectangular with flat sides and bases, traditionally used for the interment of coffins. All the bodies were interred extended on their backs with the head generally oriented westerly, and without any grave inclusions. Brass and copper buttons and pins were, however, present in some cases. Based on the supine burial position and evidence of burial shrouds in the form of pins, it has been suggested that these graves are representative of a Christian community (February 1995). The niche and step graves, in the absence of access to coffin material, would have served as protection to the body, preventing defilement by scavengers, or direct contact of the body with soil. It has been further suggested that the niche could represent the transition between indigenous and Christian burial practices or reflect social status -those of lower social status not having access to coffin materials (February 1995).

The assumption that these individuals are from a poor community is further supported by the health conditions represented in the community.

In 1991, Bennet & Nkojoana analysed health conditions of the collection (Bennet & Nkojoana 1991 in Morris 1992b). Seventy percent of the adults at the site suffered from osteoarthritis, forty percent had enamel hypoplasia, and fifty-four percent showed the presence of Porotic hyperostosis (Morris 1992b). The historical evidence supports the assumption of low quality of living, poverty and poor health.

Excavations of Van Riebeeck's fort, used until 1673, revealed the burial of an adult male (UCT 457) extended on his back with his arms folded over his chest. The burial underlay seventeenth and eighteenth century debris and, without a discernible shaft, this makes a date estimation difficult. However, if the burial was contemporary with the occupation of the fort, the individual was probably a European soldier or sailor who was buried during the second half of the seventeenth century (Sealy *et al* 1995).

The burial of a forty-five to sixty year old man was discovered during excavations at Oudepost I (Sealy *et al* 1995). Oudepost was a VOC outpost 100km north of Cape Town occupied between 1669 and 1732 (c.f.: Chapter 3 for discussion). The burial fill included colonial artefacts, but the exact date of interment is unknown. The man may have been a VOC soldier or sailor who died on a passing ship and was interred at Oudepost. As the individual was interred in a gabled coffin, a date early in the sequence is most likely (Sealy *et al* 1995).

A study of Cobern Street has the potential to reveal urban mortuary practice as a research project conceptualised under the discipline of historical archaeology, whereas the sites previously mentioned fall short in one way or another (whether through paucity of cultural material, small

sample numbers, or lack of contextual information). The Cobern Street project was a systematic excavation of burials of a known historical context, with a large enough sample to begin to generalise about mortuary practices and their role in establishing and voicing identity.

The projects cited all bear an important relationship to the Cobern Street collection, in that they date to a similar time period and represent a reasonable cross-section of colonial Cape society. The colonial elite (Groot Constantia), the Company servant (Van Riebeeck Fort and Oudepost I) and victims of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Vergelegen and Fort Knokke) may also be represented in the Cobern Street collection. It is expected that parallels will emerge between the sites, providing a basis for understanding colonial mortuary practices.

Chapter 3 :The History of the Cape Colony

Eighteenth century Cape Town was a diverse and dynamic international port, at once a refreshment station, military garrison, farming community, business centre, slave society and penal colony, quaintly nicknamed 'the tavern of the seas'. People from myriad backgrounds, occupations, and geographic origins passed through or made their homes in the city and its hinterland, some by choice and others by accident or force. It was home to the indigenous Khoisan community that would later be absorbed into the colonial labour force, Europeans, and slaves drawn predominantly from East Africa and Southeast Asia. To discern who was interred at the Cobern Street burial ground, and how and why they came to rest there, it is necessary to understand the early history of the colony, and the political, social and economic environment in which the people lived.

The Khoikhoi

By the time the first Europeans appeared at the Cape of Good Hope, people had been living there for millennia as hunter-gatherers and, for much of the last two thousand years, herding sheep and cattle. Few written records or oral traditions exist for this period, so reconstructions of early Khoisan history have relied heavily on archaeological, anthropological, and linguistic evidence, as well as often questionable traveller's accounts (c.f.: Elphick 1985; Smith 1992).

The Khoikhoi were pastoralists who probably descended from hunter-gatherers in the region of northern Botswana and expanded across southern Africa (Elphick 1985). Ultimately the Khoikhoi occupied the area from northern Namibia to the Cape Peninsula and east to the region of the Fish River. The nature of their society and routes of expansion are, however, still a matter of debate. During their spread they partially displaced or incorporated the long established aboriginal hunters they encountered. Contact between the pastoralists and the hunters may have taken one of several forms; armed conflict, trade, a system of clientage in which hunters worked for the Khoikhoi, and absorption through marriage (Elphick 1985). By 1652 the Khoikhoi were sharing the landscape seasonally with the indigenous hunters known to them as the San, Soaqua or Bushmen (Smith 1992).



Figure 3.1: Khoikhoi with cattle. Artist Unknown, S.A. Library. After Smith & Pheiffer 1993.

Current popular opinion asserts that migrating Khoi-speakers introduced sheep, pottery and a pastoral way of life to the Cape about two thousand years ago; this theory, however, has recently been reconsidered (Sadr 1997). Alternatively, ceramics and livestock may have diffused between groups of hunter-gatherers, with a pastoral way of life developing *in situ* in certain locations, only later to be followed by the Khoikhoi expansion. This would in part explain the weak representation of the Khoikhoi in the archaeological record. After all, the possession of livestock and pottery do not necessarily signify a pastoral community, and early pastoralists were not necessarily Khoikhoi (*see below*; Sadr 1997; R. Yates, personal communication). However, additional archaeological evidence would first be necessary to make a more conclusive assessment (Sadr 1997).

The Cape Khoikhoi were the group most immediately affected by the arrival of the Europeans. Those inhabiting the area south of the Orange River can be divided into three groups: the Eastern Cape Khoikhoi, the Central Cape Khoikhoi and the Western Cape Khoikhoi (Elphick 1985). The Western Cape Khoikhoi were located within approximately one hundred miles of the Cape of Good Hope and consisted of three smaller groups. The "Peninsulars", located in the area that is today Cape Town, consisted of the Goringhaiqua, Gorachqua and the Goringhaicona. Although the first two groups were living a pastoral existence, the Goringhaicona or '*Strandlopers*', had lost their livestock by the time they encountered the Europeans. Instead they subsisted primarily on marine resources. The "*omliggende Hottentotten*" or nearby Khoikhoi consisted of the Cochoqua, Chinouqua, and the Hessaqua; and the Guriqua and the Namaqua made up the Borderland Khoikhoi (Smith 1992; Elphick 1985). These groups were genealogically related, and recognised a lineage hierarchy with increasing status to the east. Nowhere did the Khoikhoi have high population numbers, and it is estimated that around 1660 there were no more than one hundred thousand Khoikhoi in the south-western Cape (Elphick 1985).

The highly fluid society of the Khoikhoi was one in which small groups, under broader regional clusters, lived a seasonal existence in *kraals* (mobile villages) herding cattle and hunting wild animals and gathering *veldkos* (wild plant food). Andrew Smith has proposed a seasonal sharing of the landscape between Khoi and San groups in which the Khoikhoi would make optimal use of pasturage, forcing the San to subsist in the lands temporarily vacated or not used by the Khoikhoi (Smith 1987, 1984). The Khoi grazed their herds inland during the summer months of October through March, and moved to the coast in the

winter months to exploit marine resources. This model is based both on the archaeological deposits from Kasteelberg and on historical accounts left by the Dutch (Smith 1987, 1984).

Unlike most other African pastoralists, the Khoikhoi did not practice farming (Smith 1992). Livestock played an extremely important role in Khoikhoi culture, affecting economic, political, and social life. Livestock distinguished rich from poor, and pastoralists from the cattleless hunters in the region. Cattle exchange played a role in social relations, at weddings and in settling disputes, though the exact nature of exchange is unknown. In a culture where land was controlled by clans and shared seasonally, livestock was the most valued form of private property owned by individuals or families, and was frequently the cause of strife (Elphick 1985).

Individual clans were not isolated, and were informed of the activities of the other groups around them. They participated in extensive, long distance trade routes both with each other and with the Bantu speaking people to the north and east (Elphick 1985). Cattle were exchanged for *dagga* (*Cannabis sativa*), copper for ornamentation and iron for 'assegai' (spear tips), significant quantities of which were not available in the Cape. Although these trade items were valued by the Khoikhoi and trade was important, in pre-European times it was always on a small scale. As such, it never significantly altered Khoikhoi economy or political structure (Elphick 1985).

Elphick has described the first one hundred and sixty-four years of Khoikhoi-European contact as "...intermittent, brief, almost purely

commercial, and limited to the small Khoikhoi groups on the peninsula” (Elphick 1977: 71). From 1591 to 1610 the Khoikhoi supplied large and regular quantities of livestock in exchange for iron, copper and tobacco but trade dropped between 1610 and 1652, an indicator of waning trust (Elphick 1985). In the first thirty years after the Dutch colony was established trade continued on a voluntary basis. In later years the Khoikhoi, concerned over their diminishing herds, resisted barter which led to a more coercive relationship on the behalf of the Dutch.



*Figure 3.2: Khoikhoi drinking from kaross. Artist Unknown, S.A. Library.
After Smith & Pheiffer 1993.*

The expansion of colonial farmers encroached on Khoikhoi pastures, forcing them to use progressively less adequate land. As the Khoikhoi began to lose their livestock, many were forced into the role of labourers and domestic servants in colonists’ households and on colonists’ farms. It was in this capacity that marriage and concubinage occurred with slaves, freeblacks, and to a lesser degree, Europeans. The spread of European disease had a further impact on the already susceptible Khoikhoi, cumulating in the smallpox epidemic of 1713. Despite several concentrated attempts at resistance to European expansion (the First

Khoikhoi-Dutch War of 1659 and the Second Khoikhoi-Dutch War of 1673 to 1677), traditional Khoikhoi culture and society in the Western Cape had been all but disappeared by about 1740 (Elphick 1985). The 1713 smallpox epidemic did not destroy the Khoikhoi but was probably the *coup de grace* on an already unstable and disjointed community (Smith 1989).

The many historical accounts of vast herds of cattle roaming Table Valley in the first years after the Europeans arrived should imply that the Khoikhoi left a rich and extensive archaeological record. This, however, does not appear to be the case as there are minimal material traces of the Khoikhoi presence at the Cape. With few exceptions, there is virtually no direct archaeology of the Khoikhoi (R. Yates, personal communication 1997). Attempts have been made to find a distinctly pastoral presence on the Cape landscape (Smith *et al* 1991; Hart 1987; Robertshaw 1979). Yet only two significant sites with what has been interpreted as a strong herder component have been excavated to date; Kasteelberg and Oudepost I (c.f.: Smith 1992b, 1987; Schrire & Deacon 1989; Schrire 1987). Robertshaw has attributed this paucity of archaeological data, in part, to the probability that "...Khoi pastoralists never stayed at a single site for more than a few days and left a minimum of debris for future archaeologists to unearth" (Robertshaw 1979: 190). However, if Sadr's (1997) theories are correct, it is uncertain if there would be any difference between the archaeological signatures.

Kasteelberg, on Rooiheuvel farm near Vredenburg has produced a tight and distinctly pastoral sequence spanning two thousand years (Smith 1987). The deposit includes sheep, cattle, and seal bone, large quantities of shellfish, stone tools and ceramics.

The second site with evidence of Khoikhoi activity at the Cape is the VOC garrison post at Oudepost I (Schrire *et al* 1993; Schrire & Deacon 1989; & Schrire 1987). Oudepost I is located 120 km north of Cape Town along the shores of Langebaan Lagoon on the Churchhaven Peninsula, and was constructed in 1666 to deter French threats to Saldanha Bay. Except for a twelve to thirteen year hiatus, starting with the 1673 Khoikhoi massacre of Dutch troops garrisoned at the fort, the site was occupied until 1730 when a new site was established 2 km away (Schrire 1990).

Indigenous residues from the site include a string of Ostrich egg shell (OES) beads and stone tools. European breeds of cattle were first imported to the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century. The numerous faunal material from Oudepost provides one of the first significant archaeological collections of Khoikhoi cattle, and what has been identified as the first archaeological evidence for cattle barter between the Dutch and the Khoikhoi (Schrire 1987). It has been argued that the indigenous artefacts from Oudepost cover the full period of occupation, rather than representing a temporary hunter presence during the twelve to thirteen year absence of the garrison, or an earlier occupation of the site (Schrire & Deacon 1989; Schrire 1988). From the Oudepost material, a vigorous debate has emerged surrounding several interpretative issues. These include Khoikhoi use of the landscape, the distinction between hunters and herders in the archaeological record, and the nature of Khoikhoi-Dutch interaction (c.f.: Yates & Smith 1993; Schrire 1992a, 1992b, 1991; Whitelaw *et al* 1992; Smith *et al* 1991; Penn 1991; Schrire & Deacon 1990, 1989; and Wilson *et al* 1990).

Oudepost I and the Hunter-Herder Debate

In 1972, Shula Marks published a seminal paper dealing with Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Marks 1972). In it she distinguishes the Khoikhoi and the San based on subsistence strategies, the Khoi being pastoralists and the San hunter-gatherers. Unlike earlier visions of the Cape past, she rejects alleged racial differences between the two groups as being an unfounded stereotype, and suggests that ethnic differences may not have been all that clear. Cattleless Khoi may have been difficult to distinguish from San who had acquired stock. She does, albeit reluctantly, acknowledge that there were linguistic differences between the two groups.

Richard Elphick, the principal historian of the Khoikhoi (1985;1977), proposed a cyclical model for Khoikhoi behaviour, based on 'up and down' economic swings. During an 'up cycle' cattle would have been plentiful and the Khoikhoi would have lived a primarily pastoral existence. Environmental or social conditions leading to a loss of stock would have marked the beginning of a downward swing. Khoikhoi in such a predicament would have reverted to a hunting and gathering lifestyle on a full time basis, appearing very similar to the San. It has been suggested that the Khoikhoi were entering a down cycle when the Europeans began to appear at the Cape (Elphick 1985). The settlers exacerbated this situation and forcing the Khoikhoi into permanent decline. Elphick's model was essentially economic; however it would later be applied to Khoisan material culture, and used to question the extent of Khoi and San cultural independence.

In 1991, as a partial critique of the interpretation of the Oudepost indigenous artefacts, Andrew Smith *et al* proposed that the independent

Investigations of Other Cape Town Burials

One of the first studies of burial grounds and burial practices was the “1896 Cape of Good Hope Report on Suburban Cemeteries” by A. J. Gregory (1896). Gregory submitted a report to the Colonial Secretary concerning the general condition of the cemeteries primarily in the area known as the Southern Suburbs. These were suburbs that developed running roughly along the banks of the Liesbeeck River, south of the Cape Town city bowl. There is a brief discussion of the cemeteries associated with various religious denominations such as the Dutch Reformed Church, the Anglicans, the Catholics, and the Muslims. Gregory details the extent of individual burial grounds, presumed depth of graves, and religious preferences such as the presence or absence of a coffin. In regards to the Malay Cemetery he writes: “In accordance with their religious customs no coffin is used, the body lying on its side towards the east (Gregory 1896).” He notes that many of the cemeteries were in a poor state of disrepair, many are filled beyond capacity resulting in graves being reused, and that most should be closed as they jeopardise public health.

In the early 1950's R. Singer and E. N. Keen excavated a mass grave containing 19 individuals 100 yards from Fort Knokke on Woodstock Beach, Cape Town (Singer 1953). A second excavation revealed another 7 individuals buried in coffins 50 yards from the fort. Historical research, as well as stable isotopic and trace element analysis has led to the conclusion that the individuals interred here are most likely victims of the wreck of *The Pacquet Real*. *The Pacquet Real* broke up on Woodstock

Beach in May 1818, whilst on a voyage carrying slaves from Mozambique to San Salvador, Brazil (Cox 1995).

In 1973 and again in 1993, the archivist Bob Langham-Carter published articles regarding historical cemeteries in *CABO*, The Journal of the Historical Society of Cape Town (*Kaapstade Historiese Vereniging*). The first article, "Cape Town's First Graveyards", deals specifically with the Somerset Road cemeteries surrounding Cobern Street, however there was no specific mention of a burial ground on the site of present day Cobern Street. In the article, Langham-Carter draws on archival sources to trace the expansion of cemeteries north-west out of town from Buitengracht Canal to Green Point Common, the oldest cemeteries being closest to the canal. These cemeteries were referred to as the Somerset Road cemeteries as main access to the sites was *via* Somerset Road, and most were oriented along the road. The earliest mention of cemeteries in that area is that in June 1755 the Dutch Reformed Church was granted 429 square *roods* between Buitengracht Canal and the military burial ground, as the churchyard cemetery was overflowing due to the smallpox epidemic. Right of interment was limited to Europeans (Langham-Carter 1973). Langham-Carter's 1993 article "*Grave Matters*" discussed the historical value of grave markers. After the Somerset Road cemeteries were moved, the loose stones were moved to the Maitland cemetery. When the Somerset Road freeway was enlarged in 1982, seven old stones were found underground and saved for the South African Culture History Museum. No mention is made of skeletal material being uncovered at that time.

An isolated grave was unearthed on Milnerton Beach in 1979. The grave was excavated by John Parkington of the Archaeology Department, UCT,

and dated to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (Abrahams 1983). The body of a middle-aged man was found extended on his back, with elbows and knees slightly flexed. Periodontal disease was used as an indicator of a European diet. A knife and buttons, presumably carried and worn by the individual at the time of interment, were included with the body. The isolated nature of the burial and the paucity of material possessions led to the conclusion that the individual was of lower class origins.

Excavations at the Vergelegen slave lodge in Somerset West -50km east of Cape Town- unearthed a body interred under the lodge floor in 1990 (Hall 1996). The burial was of a woman in her early fifties extended on her back in a coffin constructed of yellowwood and scavenged nails (Sealy *et al* 1993). There were no grave goods or remains of clothing items unearthed in the grave, but a clay pipe stem was recovered from the grave fill. The body was oriented west to east (a practice associated with traditional Euro-Christian burials), however the religious faith remains undetermined. The burial dates to the second half of the eighteenth century. Health of the individual was indicated by well-delineated muscle markings, which would imply an active lifestyle. However, the woman suffered from severe osteoarthritis, particularly in the vertebral column and hands. Isotopic and trace element analysis of tooth and bone samples indicated that the woman spent her childhood in a tropical locale and not at the Cape, an inference based on changing dietary patterns (Sealy *et al* 1993). The skeleton, named "Flora" by farm workers at Vergelegen, was re-buried at a formal funeral in April 1991, after the skeletal analysis had been completed (Hall 1996).

development of hunter and herder populations would be discerned archaeologically (Smith *et al* 1991). Distinct 'cultural packages' are presented for prehistoric hunter and herder groups. The herder or Khoikhoi signature would include low numbers of formally retouched stone tools, large numbers of ceramics, large OES beads, and faunal deposits including large numbers of domestic animals¹. The hunter or San 'package' would be the inverse of that for the Khoikhoi; many retouched stone tools, relatively little pottery, smaller OES beads and faunal deposits dominated by wild animals.

In response, Schrire claimed that there was too much overlap in the model presented by Smith *et al*, and suggested that alleged differences could represent variability in behaviour rather than evidence of separate ethnic groups (Schrire 1992b). She further ascertains that the evidence from Oudepost negates the Khoikhoi herder pattern.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans at the Cape, the Khoikhoi were lived a nomadic existence, surviving off their herds, hunting and foraging. The establishment of the Dutch settlement had a devastating effect. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Khoikhoi community living in the vicinity of the Cape had been destroyed through disease and wars with the Dutch, or incorporated into the colony's labour force.

Early European Contact

Long before Jan van Riebeeck established the VOC refreshment station in 1652 for ships travelling between Europe and the East Indies, European

¹ The only LSA sites where livestock dominate the mammalian faunal sample are KBA (Kasteelberg), dating to the mid first millennium AD, and Jakkalsberg in the northern Cape (Smith 1987; Sadr & Smith 1991; Sealy & Yates 1994; Klein & Cruz-Uribe 1989; Brink & Webley 1996; & Webley, personal communication, all from Sadr 1997)

vessels had been paying intermittent visits to the Cape. The Portuguese were the first European circumnavigators of Africa in the late fifteenth century, when Bartholomew Dias rounded the southern African coast in 1488. On his return, Dias erected a limestone "padrao" (cross) at Cape Point, and named the land he had 'discovered' *Cabo de Boa Esperanza* (Muller 1981). The Khoikhoi at Table Bay probably first encountered Europeans in 1503 when Antonio de Saldanha accidentally landed there. In 1510 Francisco d'Almeida, the Portuguese viceroy to India, dropped anchor at Table Bay. Soon his men were in conflict with the Khoikhoi, leading to a Portuguese march in land and the seizing of children as hostages. In retaliation, the Khoikhoi killed d'Almeida and wounded most of his men (Elphick 1985). Believing the Khoikhoi to be warlike, the Portuguese thereafter avoided the Cape, leaving it open to the Dutch and English. By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, European ships were frequent visitors to Table Bay (Hall 1993). The early European visitors were bartering with the Khoikhoi for cattle and exploring Table Valley (Laidler & Gelfand 1971).

The Founding of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie

In March 1594, nine north Netherlands merchants established a 'Company of Far Lands' in Amsterdam in order to send shipping fleets to Indonesia to engage in the spice trade. Over the next few years competition between rapidly forming Dutch trading companies lead to the States-General, the national administrative body of the Dutch Republic, to suggest an amalgamation of the many newly formed companies (Boxer 1990). Formation of *de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (United Netherlands Chartered East India Company or hereafter VOC) in March 1602 was a result of the fusion of these smaller companies. The VOC

had an initial capital base of nearly six and a half million florins and was divided into six *kamers* (regional boards or chambers) established in the former seats of the founding companies at Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Hourn, and Enkhuizen. The VOC was granted a States-General charter which gave them a monopoly on Dutch trade and navigation East of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan for an initial period of twenty one years. The governing body of the infant company was the powerful *Heeren XVII*, a court of seventeen directors, who could wage war, conclude peace treaties and alliances, build fortifications within their chartered region, produce coinage, and enlist civilian, naval and military personnel (Boxer 1990). Those enlisted took an oath of loyalty to the VOC and the States-General. The result was that the VOC was practically a state in its own right (Boxer 1990).

The VOC Refreshment Station and the Establishment of a Colony

When the VOC East Indiaman the *Haarlem* was wrecked in Table Bay in 1647, a crew was forced to remain at the Cape for a year. Their experiences paved the way for the establishment of a Dutch colony at the Cape, the first permanent European settlement in southern Africa and ultimately the most deeply entrenched European presence in Africa (Werz 1997; Hall 1993). During their stay, the stranded crew of the *Haarlem* built a camp at a site between present day Milnerton and Table View, and a daily log was kept by crew member Leendert Jansz. The crew's accidental tenure at the Cape provided an opportunity to explore the region, establish trade relations with the Khoikhoi and report on the feasibility of establishing a Dutch settlement at the Cape. When the crew was rescued approximately one year later by Wollebrant Geleysen de

Jong's returning fleet, Jansz and Mattijs Proot, a fellow crew member, prepared the *Remonstrantie*. This document was submitted to the regional chamber of the VOC in Amsterdam and later to the *Heeren XVII* as a proposal to establish a permanent post at the Cape (Werz 1997).²

As a consequence of the wreck of the *Haarlem* and the *Remonstrantie* submitted in 1649, Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in April 1652 to set up a small settlement of VOC servants to provide passing vessels with refreshments on the outward and return voyages from Europe (Omer-Cooper 1994). The Cape settlement was originally intended to be little more than a refreshment station for passing ships, with the VOC maintaining a monopoly over trade. However, a few Company men were discharged to farm along the banks of the Lisbeeck River, providing the VOC with fresh produce at a fixed price, and surplus sold at higher prices to foreign fleets stopping off at the Cape (Boxer 1990; Botha 1962). Following a war with France in the late seventeenth century, the VOC became fully aware of the strategic value of the Cape settlement. Under the rule of Simon van der Stel, immigration to the Colony was strongly encouraged. After 1679, immigrants from Holland and Germany, as well as French and Belgian Huguenots seeking freedom from religious prosecution, began to arrive (Omer-Cooper 1994; Muller 1981).

During most of the seventeenth century, the European population at the Cape was fairly small, consisting of VOC employees and a free burgher community. Through the eighteenth century the population expanded, and by 1750 a unique cultural identity existed at the Cape, though the

² In 1988, the Maritime Archaeology Research Group (MARG) at UCT, under the direction of Bruno Werz, commenced efforts to locate the *Haarlem* survivor camp archaeologically. However, as of 1996, no new historical or archaeological material has emerged to establish the exact location of the site (Werz 1997).

colony remained a minor VOC outstation until the First British Occupation in 1795 (Malan 1993). The Batavian Republic controlled the Cape from 1803 until the colony reverted back to the Crown during the Second British Occupation from 1806. In 1814 the Cape was proclaimed a British Crown Colony and remained so until the declaration of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Malan 1993; Davenport 1991).

The Economy and Social Structure of 18th Century Cape Town

The layout of Cape Town followed the traditional Dutch grid style of streets and gardens stretching out from the Castle towards Table Mountain, bordered by the streets Buitenkant to the east, and Buitengracht to the west (Malan 1993). Following his visit to Cape Town in the late eighteenth century, the Swedish naturalist Anders Sparrman described the city as “small, about two thousand paces in length and breadth, including the gardens and orchards, by which one side of it is terminated. The streets are broad, but not paved; a great many of them are planted with oaks. The houses are handsome, two storeys high at most; the greatest part of them are white washed on the outside, but some of them were painted green; this later colour, which is never seen in Sweden, being the favourite colour with the Dutch for their clothes, boats, and ships” (Forbes 1975:47). The early houses are recorded as being usually one storey high, with thatch roofs and twenty foot high walls to prevent fire. The doors and windows were often green and over all, houses were similar to the style in Holland, the gable being the one typically South African feature (Botha 1962). It is unlikely that the new port city was as idyllic as Sparrman has implied. Nightsoil tubs and other

domestic refuse would have been dumped in the canals or open squares, or tossed into the streets or between houses. Domestic stock grazed next to the sidewalks and in the open gardens and public squares, no doubt leading to an unpleasant stench (Botha 1962).

The economy of eighteenth century Cape Town was inextricably linked to international commerce. Those who were not in the employ of the VOC would have sustained themselves by growing produce to be sold to the Company and passing ships. Alternatively, they may have been carpenters, smiths, boat makers, shop keepers, tailors, bakers, or fishermen, the need for which was created and sustained by the VOC settlement (Elphick & Shell 1989; Botha 1962).

During the first few decades of the colony the Khoikhoi, European colonists, and slaves were a discrete category of people legally, culturally, and religiously, but by the 1770's the distinctions had blurred. In the later part of the eighteenth century, it has been suggested that the main divisions were based on religious affiliation (Elphick & Shell 1989). Though the practice was initially discouraged, the Khoikhoi were brought under VOC jurisdiction as they became a part of the colonial work force.

Slaves and freeblacks converted to Christianity, but more commonly to Islam, and to varying degrees the different communities intermarried (Elphick & Shell 1989). "Between 1652 and 1795 two great world religions appeared at the Cape... both religions had their greatest impact in Cape Town" (Elphick & Shell 1989:193). The Christian community was dominated by the Calvinistic Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) (Botha

1962). Other Christian denominations included the Anglicans, Lutherans (from the 1780's), and Presbyterians, which were permitted to establish congregations in the early nineteenth century. Islam was by and large limited to urban Cape Town, however, its impact was far more profound than Christianity, and conversion was encouraged by the fact that slaves were virtually excluded from Christian congregations. Imams identified with the enslaved community, and were willing to perform birth, death, and marriage rituals when the Christian clergy would or could not (Shell 1994; Elphick & Shell 1989).

The Muslim community appeared in the seventeenth century, and grew through the eighteenth century to emerge as a major force in the nineteenth century. Islam became not only a religion, but also a way of life for most of the community, providing a sense of purpose in a hostile and prejudice environment (Davids 1984:60). In fact it was this prejudice and hostility that helped to solidify and strengthen the Muslim community (Davids 1984). In 1825 the free Muslim community in Cape Town numbered 2,167, and by 1842 the Municipal census identified 6,435 Muslims, making up one third of the city's population, although Shell contends that these figures are unrealistically low (Shell 1994).

Slavery at the Cape

Shortly after Van Riebeeck's arrival, slavery was introduced at the Cape. From 1658 until the slave trade was abolished in 1834, approximately 63,000 slaves were imported in roughly equal numbers from mainland Africa, India, Madagascar and Indonesia (Shell 1994). By the time of abolition, the slave population numbered 36,169. Of Cape Town, Watson has written, "the social order as well as the economy was based

on slavery; many defined their personal status in its terms" (Watson 1990: 16). For this reason a clear understanding of Cape slavery is paramount in understanding the nature of life within the colony.

The Dutch became involved in the transatlantic slave trade in the 1620's, shipping captives from West Africa to the Americas. When they captured Brazil in 1634, and held it until 1638, Dutch involvement in the slave trade experienced an abrupt increase (Boxer 1990; Armstrong & Worden 1989). By the time slavery was introduced at the Cape, it was a fully developed system governed by the 1642 VOC Statutes of India. The vast majority of Cape slaves were imported from Madagascar, Mozambique, the East African coast, and south-east Asia; from VOC vessels returning from Batavia and Ceylon; or they were purchased from foreign ships on their way to the Americas from Madagascar, Mozambique and East Africa. As a general rule, only free burghers purchased slaves from foreign ships, the VOC preferring not to acquire slaves from 'transient slavers'. The VOC ceased slave trading voyages from the Cape in 1786 (Armstrong & Worden 1989).

The first cargo of slaves to the Cape arrived from Dahomey and Angola in 1658, having been confiscated from two foreign ships (Watson 1991). Shell wrote that "the origins of all slaves imported to the Cape from 1652 to 1808 comprise a broad palette unparalleled in any other recorded slave population anywhere in the world" (Shell 1994:46). Changes in international shipping patterns dictated the continental origins of Cape slaves during any given period and between 1787 and 1795 no slaves were imported (Shell 1994; Elphick & Giliomee 1989). The Dutch West India Company refused to allow the VOC to trade in their territory (which covered all of West Africa and Angola) and the East African coast

was controlled by Muslim and Portuguese traders through the early eighteenth century, leaving the VOC Madagascar and the Far East (Shell 1994).

Slave labour was divided by stereotypes based on ethnic and geographic origins, with different nationalities believed to be better suited for specific tasks. Slaves from India and Indonesia were used for industrial and service related activities; African slaves were used as agricultural labourers; and Creole slaves were domestic servants and artisans (Shell 1994; Armstrong & Worden 1989). Further, male slaves commanded a higher value than female slaves, and VOC buyers were ordered to purchase male slaves whenever possible. A slave's occupation was not only determined by their origin, but also played a part in their chances of manumission (Shell 1994).

From 1653 until 1770 a majority of the slaves was concentrated in the Cape Town area and at the market centres of the interior (Shell 1994). Shell (1994) has identified three distinct slave populations. The largest single group was the VOC slaves housed in the Company lodge, which averaged around four hundred individuals. The second group were slaves who worked on the large rural plantations of patrician officials until about 1706. In later years this group was mainly urban. Third were the slaves owned by urban free burghers and freeblacks, the largest slave holding group by 1740. The number of slaveholders at the Cape was higher than in other slave owning societies, however the number of slaves per holding was far lower than, for example, the plantations of North and South American and the Caribbean (Armstrong & Worden 1989).

It has been difficult to reconstruct the slave experience at the Cape as most existing documentation takes the form of court transcripts, slaveholders' records, and travellers' accounts (Shell 1994; Armstrong & Worden 1989). A separate and distinct slave culture never emerged at the Cape, and no accounts of life under slavery written by slaves exist. This problem is confounded by the fact that individual slave holdings were relatively small, and slaves often lived with, and in a sense, as part of the families for whom they laboured. This has made it impossible, to date, to identify an independent material culture or archaeological signature of slavery.

Crime and Punishment

"Besides being a refreshment station for passing ships, from 1658-1795 the colony doubled as a secure dumping ground for political and civil troublemakers from the Dutch East Indies" (Shell 1994:195). In the early years, the colony was dependent on convict labour, which was primarily replaced by slave labour by the end of the seventeenth century (Shell 1994).

Convicts (*bandieten*), exiles (*bannelingen*), political prisoners and other undesirables banished from Batavia, often found their way to the Cape as captives and forced labour (Armstrong 1997). Those found guilty of assault, murder, presumption of murder, rape, theft, counterfeiting, illegal entry into Batavia, extortion and pandering were sentenced to hard labour and/or confinement in chains at the Cape until further notice. Essentially they became VOC slaves, as they lived, ate and laboured alongside slaves. Often, records of the criminals were lost and they essentially became slaves for life. European criminals convicted of more severe crimes were condemned to live and labour side by side with low-status and enslaved

people (Shell 1994). Many of these criminals were Chinese, and with one exception all were men or youths. Archival references to Chinese at the Cape are primarily as criminals (Armstrong 1997). Some of the Chinese, upon release, remained at the Cape and were incorporated into the freeblack community. Consequently, almost all of the Chinese members of the freeblack population were ex-convicts (Elphick & Shell 1989). Corporal punishment was not limited to the slave population, but could be used on all sectors, especially soldiers, sailors, freeblacks and the indigenous population (Shell 1994).

Soldiers and Sailors

In addition to the local residents, soldiers and sailors formed a large transient population, which passed through the Cape on VOC vessels. These men generally came from the lower ranks of European society, or were Asians recruited from the VOC's settlements in the Far East. In the year 1792 alone, there were 1405 sailors at the Cape, 579 of whom were European, 233 were Moorish, 101 were Javanese, and 504 were Chinese (Bruijn *et al* 1987).

The average outbound trip from the Netherlands to Batavia (with a stop over at the Cape) took eight months, and the return voyage seven and a half months. The layover at the Cape was officially not supposed to last more than ten days, but generally took three to four weeks (Bruijn *et al* 1987). While on the ships, the men lived under appalling conditions. Many embarked malnourished, and on board ship there was inadequate food, water, and clothing. Living conditions were cramped and unsanitary, with diseases spreading rapidly through the crew. In this tightly packed male community, tension existed between different nationalities and ranks. Mutinies were not rare, and corporal punishment

or the death penalty were a real possibility for all manner of offences. "On reaching port or halting place the newly dead were buried ashore, and the sick disembarked, sooner or later yet to meet death on their sickbed" (Bruijn *et al* 1987:167). However, exact mortality rates for the sick left at the Cape are unknown.

Health and Disease

Life in Cape Town was directly linked to life on incoming ships. The high mortality rate on VOC ships travelling between the Netherlands and the East Indies was a prime motivation for establishing the refreshment station at the Cape. Cramped and unhygienic living conditions, the lack of fresh food and water, insufficient shipboard care for the sick, and ignorance of preventative measures all aggravated the problem (Searle 1965). By establishing a post at the half way point, fresh water, and fruit and vegetables for the treatment of scurvy could be readily at hand, and a hospital could be established for the treatment and recovery of ailing seamen. Illnesses caused by nutritional deficiencies, and unhygienic living conditions such as scurvy, beri-beri, dysentery, typhus, ulceration of the colon, hepatitis, tetanus, pulmonary tuberculosis, and liver abscess were all common. Additionally bubonic plague, measles, various fevers, and smallpox spread rapidly within the cramped and confined spaces on VOC sailing vessels (Searle 1965).

Most of the afflictions and epidemics, which affected colonial inhabitants, entered the city from passing ships. This is clearly evident in the arrival of smallpox at the Cape. All the major epidemics, dating to 1713, 1755, 1814, and 1840, were brought to the colony by incoming vessels (Culver

1958; Laidler & Gelfand 1971). Additionally, there were minor epidemics in 1767, 1807, 1812, 1839, 1858 and 1881 .

Smallpox (*Variola major*) has occurred all over the world for thousands of years, often with a mortality rate of 40% to 60%, but potentially as high as 90% (Young 1997). *Variola Minor* (a milder form of the disease) had a mortality rate of about 1%, and recovery from either strain meant lifetime immunity. Smallpox has an initial incubation period of ten to fourteen days following contact, with a rash appearing around the third day after the initial illness, often accompanied by pain in the limbs, head, back and a high fever (Culver 1958). The infection is highly contagious once the rash appears (Young 1997). The disease is usually passed by face to face contact with the infected *via* respiratory secretions, and through contact with the scabs left behind in clothing and bed linen. The scabs remain infectious for long periods of time.

The Cape was permanently settled by Europeans in 1652, however, smallpox did not make its first visit for another sixty years. A ship arriving from Ceylon introduced smallpox to the Cape in 1713 when scab infested laundry was brought ashore to be washed in the Company slave lodge. During the course of the epidemic, 200 of the 570 slaves at the VOC slave lodge died. The epidemic spread from the slave lodge to the colonists and Khoisan (Culver 1958). The second major epidemic, also introduced from Ceylon, arrived in 1755, leaving 1000 Europeans and over 1000 slaves dead (Laidler & Gelfand 1971). Country residents were ordered to bury their dead on farms, rather than transport the corpses into town; those who died in town were meant to be buried within twenty-four hours, in the clothes in which they died. According to Laidler and Gelfand, interments were occurring so rapidly in Cape Town that “when

existing burial grounds filled up, it was necessary to open new ones near the sea (later known as Somerset Road). Corpses had been buried above corpses not yet decomposed, reducing the possible depth of burial and causing a terrible stench” (Laidler & Gelfand 1971:56).

The People of the Cape

Before the Dutch established their outpost in 1652, the permanent population at the Cape was purely indigenous hunters and herders. The only European presence was passing traders. This was to change rapidly. A small group of people left their home in the Netherlands and Batavia to come barter with the Khoikhoi for cattle, grow fresh produce and provide a place of recuperation for the men on passing VOC vessels. This was supposed to be the extent of the European presence. However, slave labour (provided from East Africa and Asia) was almost immediately in demand, and an early decision to release a few men to establish themselves as free burgher farmers providing for the Company’s needs led to a rapid population explosion. Immigrants began to arrive from other parts of Europe to escape religious persecution and try their luck in the rapidly expanding colony. Convicts and political prisoners from Batavia were sent to the Cape to serve their sentences, and many remained permanently.

British occupation of the Cape in the nineteenth century helped to create an even larger and more diverse population. Marriage and concubinage between Europeans, Asian and African slaves, and Khoikhoi labourers led to the formation of a large, polyglot community. Disease, particularly smallpox, and intensive labour would have caused particularly high

mortality rates. These factors should be reflected in the Cobern Street site.

Chapter 4 :Previous Work at Cobern Street

Site Background

In September 1994, construction of a new office building in Cobern Street, Green Point began to reveal human skeletal material, which was later dated to the second half of the eighteenth century. The site was located on the west side of Cobern Street, immediately north of Somerset Road, on the margin of the city bowl. The property owner, Mr. Herbert Jung, had obtained a City Council permit to demolish two houses located on the site, and build a four-storey business complex. Construction began on the southern half of the site in September 1994, and the contractor exposed human remains while digging the new foundation. The appearance of human skeletal material was reported to the police, who informed Mr. Jung that the remains were not recent, and thus not a matter of concern. For three weeks the bones were broken up and discarded with the other construction fill. However, according to the Exhumations Ordinance (No. 12, 1980)¹:

¹ The ordinance defines a cemetery as "...any land, whether public or private, containing one or more graves" and a grave as "(a) any place, whether wholly or partly above or below the level of the ground and whether public or private, in which a body is permanently interred or intended to be permanently interred, whether in a coffin or other receptacle or not, and (b) any monument, tombstone, cross, inscription, rail, fence, chain, erection or other structure of whatsoever nature forming part of or appurtenant to a grave."

"2. Subject to the provisions of any other law relating to the disposal of bodies, no person shall desecrate, destroy or damage - (a) a grave in a cemetery or (b) a coffin, urn or other receptacle in which is contained a body which has not been interred or cause or permit such a grave, coffin, urn or other receptacle to be desecrated, destroyed or damaged. 3. (1) Subject to the provisions of any other laws relating to the disposal of bodies, no person shall exhume, disturb, remove or re-inter any body in a cemetery or cause or permit any such body to be exhumed, disturbed, removed or re-interred."

Three weeks passed before the illegal removal was spotted and reported to the Department of Forensic Medicine and to Anatomist Alan Morris at the University of Cape Town (UCT). On 11 October 1994, in a letter to David Hart of the National Monuments Council (NMC), Morris requested that construction be halted for at least ten days so that the human remains could be properly excavated (Morris 1994). He further requested that the NMC provide funds to employ a professional archaeologist to oversee the excavation, and hire the necessary equipment to conduct the excavation. In the mean time, Professor John Parkington, Dr. Duncan Miller and eighteen other members of the Archaeology Department at the University of Cape Town (UCT) wrote a letter to the Cape Times (Friday 14/10/94) to express their outrage at the destruction of the site, and to urge members of the public to write to the NMC, the Cape Town City Council planning department, and the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology to voice concerns about poor protective legislation for historical remains.

Responsibility for the material was passed between the South African Police, the NMC and the Cape Town City Council, while the fate of the site remained uncertain. Eventually the Department of Forensic Medicine and the Department of Anatomy and Cell Biology at UCT were able to initiate a rescue excavation under the direction of Alan Morris. During

the initial rescue operation nine burials were exhumed from the exposed foundation trenches. Of the nine graves, the first two were badly disturbed isolated bones from the construction trench. Although they were collected as Burial 1 and Burial 2 they will not be used in this study. The remaining seven burials retained a reasonable degree of contextual information. It was clear that these burials represented only a small portion of the skeletal material buried at the site. As a result, Mr. Jung agreed to a controlled and systematic excavation of the portion of the site to be disturbed during further phases of construction. The remainder of the burial ground extended beneath standing structures, which were to remain unaltered. The excavation had to be completed during the builders' holiday in late December 1994 and early January 1995 (Morris 1997).

The Excavation

From 16 December to 23 December 1994, and again from 3 January to 18 January 1995, Alan Morris and the Archaeology Contracts Office (ACO) at UCT undertook the exhumations with the assistance of John Gribble of the NMC. A rigorous excavation schedule, involving long days and weekends, ensued. If not for the assistance of approximately twenty volunteers from the Western Cape branch of the South African Archaeological Society, the Department of Archaeology at UCT, and the South African Museum, it is unlikely the excavation would have been completed in time.

The salvage operation commenced after the standing structures at the site were demolished. Some of the building foundations dated to the nineteenth century and may represent the first structures at the site. Construction of these buildings would have required a levelling of the

area, destroying the burial ground land surface. The ACO monitored the demolition and halted the surface levelling when skeletal material appeared immediately below the building, leaving the shallower burials partially exposed.

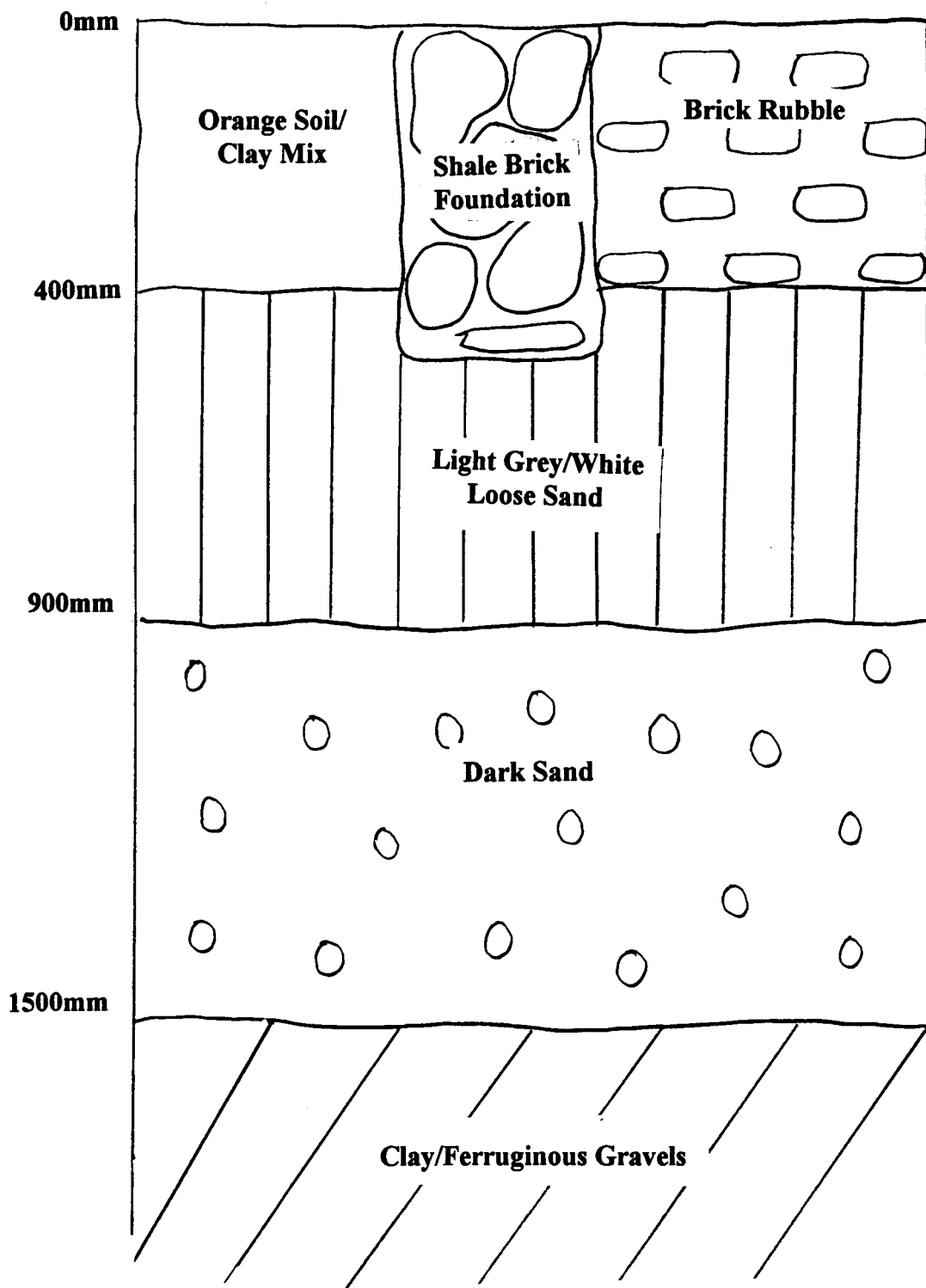
Due to the nature of the site, it was impractical to work with a conventional grid, instead burials were photographed and exhumed as they became exposed. The location and dimensions of each grave were recorded using a LEICA E.D.M (Electronic Distance Measuring Machine), and detailed site notes were kept by the Archaeology Contracts Office supervisor, a responsibility that alternated between Dave Halkett and Tim Hart.

Human bone first appeared approximately 25cm below the disturbed land surface in a deposit of orange soil mixed with clay (*Figure 4.1*).

Throughout the upper 400mm there was a mixture of shale and brick rubble from the building foundation. The second layer was 500mm deep and consisted of light greyish-white loose sands. The following 600mm was dark brown sand, and the bottom most deposit was of dark brown clay and ferruginous gravel. The historical burials appeared in the top three layers, however only the LSA burials penetrated the lowest strata. There was no evidence of beach deposit, despite the fact that the shoreline would have been approximately 300 meters away in the later eighteenth century.

Throughout the duration of the excavation, the site was open to the public, provided they did not interfere with the progress of the excavation. A number of articles appeared in the local press, and public

Figure 4.1: General Site Stratigraphy



appeals were made for anyone with knowledge of the site to come forward.

Excavations revealed an additional 56 intact graves, with fractured and fragmented skeletal material scattered through the upper deposit of most of the site, possibly a result of later grave shafts having been dug through existing burials. In all, 121 individuals are represented in the sample (Constant & Louw 1997). In some cases the skeletal material was left uncollected due to its proximity to the foundations of existing structures or the road.

Individual graves were assigned a number between ten and sixty-five. In the case of multiple interments in a grave, the additional individuals were designated with a letter (i.e. Burial 14A, 14B etc.). During the first season, heavily disarticulated skeletal material was assigned a "Bone Concentration" letter (Bone Concentration A, B, C etc.). When work resumed in 1995 it became clear that there were substantial numbers of disturbed skeletal material and the designation system was changed to bone scatter numbers: S95/1, S95/2 etc. The "S" abbreviating "scatter", "95" the field season, and the last digit representing the bone concentration. In this thesis, bone scatters will not be discussed by number, but as a group. When referring to specific burials, the excavation number will be used as these represent an intentional, cultural act, whereas the accession numbers refer specifically to the skeletal material.

The Analysis

When the excavation was completed, the skeletal material was taken to the Department of Anatomy and Cell Biology, UCT to be accessioned,

cleaned and analysed. The cultural material was deposited at the Department of Archaeology at UCT. Antonia Malan, an archaeologist in the Historical Archaeology Research Group (HARG), was invited to do the initial archival study and artefact analysis and conservation. Caroline Powrie of the Department of Anatomy and Cell Biology was responsible for the accession of the skeletal material and overseeing the cleaning and sorting process. After the skeletal material was sorted, each individual was assigned a UCT accession number, and incorporated into the collection of human skeletal material housed at the UCT Medical School. Otto Graff, a postgraduate student at UCT, prepared a report on the tobacco pipes from the site; Mike Wilson of the South African Museum prepared a report on the Khoikhoi pot found in one of the Later Stone Age (LSA) cairn graves; and Graham Avery of the South African Museum identified the non-human faunal material (Avery & Morris 1997; Graff 1995; Wilson 1995).

In 1995 and 1996, a number of people became involved in the Cobern Street project, each contributing specialised skills, and in part leading to the formation of the Western Cape Physical Anthropology Group. The group is comprised mainly of physical anthropologists, anatomists and pathologists from UCT and the University of Stellenbosch, with an interest in bioanthropology. The research group was formally launched in April 1997 at the 27th Annual Congress of the Anatomical Society of Southern Africa (ASSA), in Cape Town. The Cobern Street burial ground is the group's pilot project, and a series of preliminary reports were made detailing the progress of analysis and interpretation of material from the site (c.f.: Apollonio 1997; Constant & Louw 1997; Holtzhausen & Slater 1997; Morris 1997; Morris & Phillips 1997). These reports detailed the historical background of the collection, age and sex

distributions, paleopathological evaluation, and dental health and practices. Additionally, a biomechanical analysis of the long bones has been completed (Ledger 1997).

The Cobern Street project has proved valuable in terms of public archaeology for several reasons. First, it provided an opportunity to make the public aware of the importance of archaeology in reconstructing the past. Visitors to the site could witness archaeologists at work, and amateur archaeologists from the South African Archaeological Society had the opportunity to work along-side professionals. If it were not for these volunteers, it is doubtful that all the burials would have been exhumed before construction resumed. Furthermore, Antonia Malan constructed a small site display in the lobby of the new Long Life Lettering Building, Mr. Jung's business at 2 Cobern Street. Through this display visitors may become aware that the ground on which they stand has changed dramatically over the last eleven hundred years, and they can see some of the more "exciting finds" from the excavation, accompanied by a brief history of the area (Halkett, Hart & Malan 1995).² As many have advocated education as a primary responsibility of archaeological research (e.g. Hume 1991), the site display is a step towards fulfilling that goal.

A further strength of the Cobern Street project is that it will provide much needed information about the Cape Town underclass in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Historical archaeology in southern Africa has focused on diverse areas of inquiry including the impact of European contact and expansion, military and maritime history,

² Items such as tobacco pipes, buttons and beads can be viewed, however no human remains are on display.

probate research, and architectural studies (c.f.: Chapter 2, and Wertz 1997; Hall 1993; Malan 1993; Brink 1992; Seeman 1989; and Schrire 1988). However, despite work done by Ann Markell and others (Markell, Hall & Schrire 1995; Markell 1993; Hall 1989) very little is known archaeologically about the life and death of the common people, and more specifically the slaves, of Cape Town. This thesis will examine the social position and cultural attitudes and beliefs of this often neglected group, through a detailed analysis of their mortuary practices.

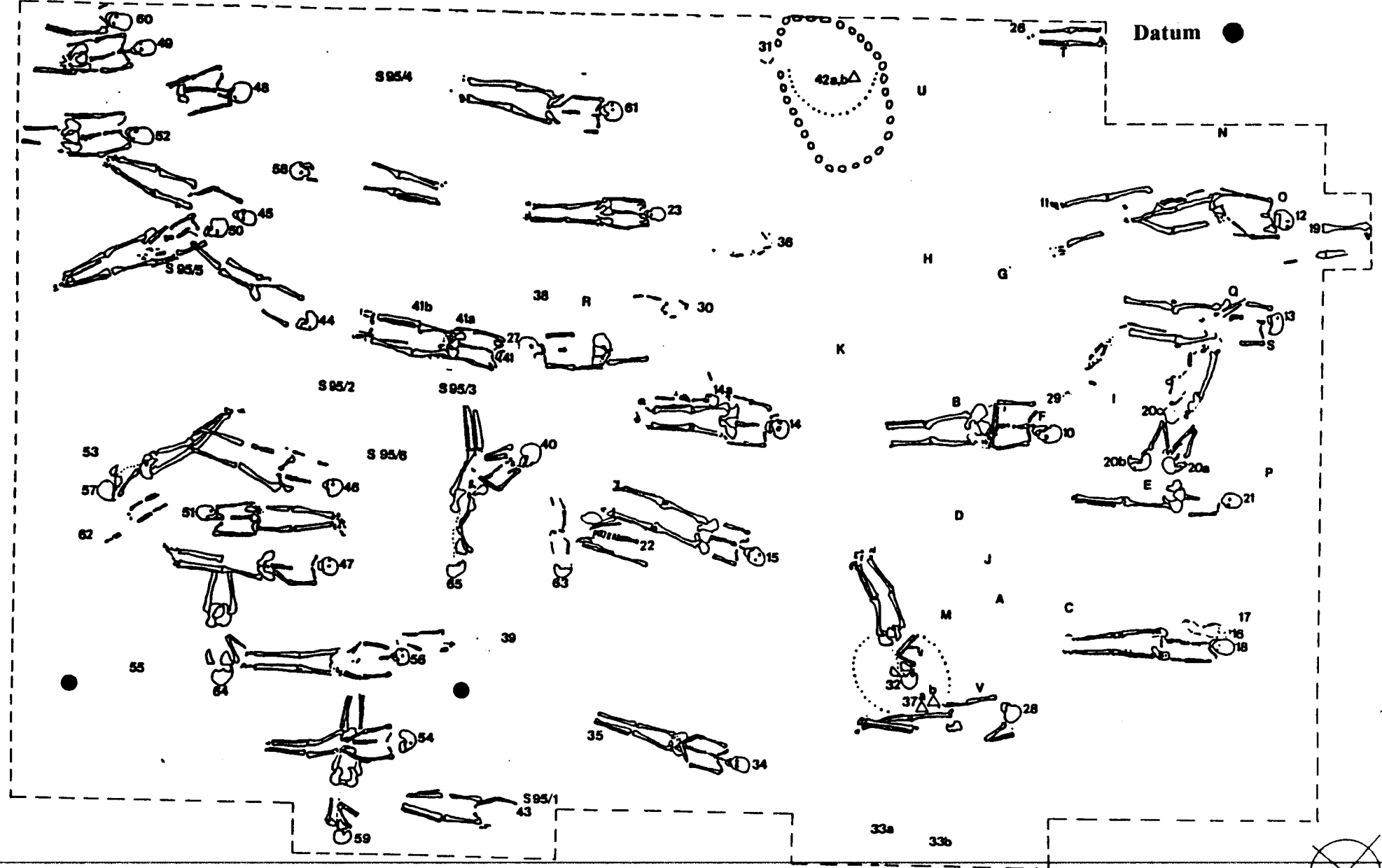


Figure 5.1: The Cobern Street Burial Ground

Chapter 5 : The Cobern Street Burial Ground

The following Chapter is a quantitative discussion of the burial types and artefacts associated with the Cobern Street burial ground. This includes an explanation of the burial classification scheme and a detailed description of the different burial types, followed by an analysis of the spatial layout of the site. Deviations from the classification system are given special attention. The different artefact types, and the graves in which they occur are examined, and individual grave goods are described in detail.

Burial Types

Human remains from the Cobern Street burials appeared in four distinct burial types, representing three styles of interment (*Figure 5.1*).¹ For purposes of analysis and discussion a working classification scheme of the burial types represented at the site was developed. The burials have been divided into Type A, Type B, Type C and Type D² burials based on the relative sequence of interment, and characteristics of the grave such as orientation and burial position. There is, of course, a fair degree of variability within each group. The specific criteria for each type will be

¹Burial descriptions were reconstructed from Halkett, Hart & Morris 1996; Constant & Louw 1997; Holtzhausen & Slater 1997; and Morris & Phillips 1997.

² Two burials (3.3% of the sample) were not assigned a burial type, as they show characteristics of more than one type of burial, and cannot easily be placed into any one group.

discussed individually, however it is worth noting that not all burials fit neatly into one of the burial types and consequently have been placed into the group they most closely match. These are indicated by a question mark after the type listing in Appendix 1.

Burial Type	Position	No of Graves	No of Individuals	% of Total Graves
A	vertically flexed	2	4	3.2%
B/B?	extended on back	45	48	71.4%
C	extended on right side	5	5	7.9%
D	bone scatters	9	13	14.3%
?	unclassified	2	2	3.2%
TOTAL	-	63	72	100%

Table 5.1: Breakdown of Burial Types

Type A

The earliest burials (Type A) are two Later Stone Age cairn graves, each containing two individuals (*Figure 5.2*). They make up 3.2% of the type sample. Burial 37 A (the top individual) was a 50 to 60 year old woman, and 37B was a child of 10 to 12 years of age. Burial 42A (the top individual) was a 40 to 50 year old man, and 42B was a 40 to 50 year old woman. The bodies were interred deep in a confined circular shaft, one above the other in a vertical flexed position. Both graves were covered by a cairn; a heap of stones which probably served both to mark and protect the graves. The cairn over Burial 37 was 110cm wide by 120cm high. The cairn over Burial 42 was roughly the same size, however the dimensions were not recorded in the field. By the time the site was excavated, the top of the cairns was far below the present land surface, and deeper than many of the later graves. A cache of marine shells was mixed in with the stones of the cairns, and appears to have been poured down one side of the shafts as a sort of lining. Species were predominantly *Patella (argenvillei, barbara, cochlear, granatina, granularis, and miniata)*, but also included *Argobiccium sp.*, *Ater*

Figure 5.2: Type A Burials



Burial 37A



Burial 37B



Burial 42A



Burial 42B

Chapter 5 : The Cobern Street Burial Ground

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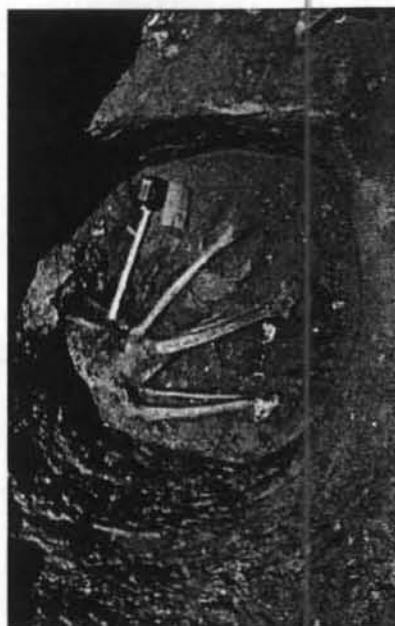
Type A

The earliest burials (Type A) are two Later Stone Age cairn graves, each containing two individuals (*Figure 5.2*). They make up 3.2% of the type sample. Burial 37 A (the top individual) was a 50 to 60 year old woman, and 37B was a child of 10 to 12 years of age. Burial 42A (the top individual) was a 40 to 50 year old man, and 42B was a 40 to 50 year old woman. The bodies were interred deep in a confined circular shaft, one above the other in a vertical flexed position. Both graves were covered by a cairn; a heap of stones which probably served both to mark and protect the graves. The cairn over Burial 37 was 110cm wide by 120cm high. The cairn over Burial 42 was roughly the same size, however the dimensions were not recorded in the field. By the time the site was excavated, the top of the cairns was far below the present land surface, and deeper than many of the later graves. A cache of marine shells was mixed in with the stones of the cairns, and appears to have been poured down one side of the shafts as a sort of lining. Species were predominantly *Patella (argenvillei, barbara, cochlear, granatina, granularis, and miniata)*, but also included *Argobiccium sp.*, *Ater*

Figure 5.2: Type A Burials



Burial 37A



Burial 37B



Burial 42A



Burial 42B

crenata, *Burnupena papyracea*, *Choromytilus meridionalis*, *Crepidula* *sp*, *Haliotis midae*, and *Oxystele* *sp* (R. Yates, personal communication).

There were no additional artefacts mixed in with the shell, and the collection does not appear to be the remnants of a shell midden.

Associated with the burials were stone tools, ochre, pottery, and fragments of a tortoise carapace bowl.

Burial	UCT	Age	Sex	Type
37A	531	50-60	Female	A
37B	532	10-12	?	A
42A	539	40-50	Male	A
42B	540	40-50	Female	A

Table 5.2: Age and Sex Distribution of Type A Burials

The LSA burials are unusual in that the upper bodies were interred separately and at a later date (but within the same grave shaft) than the lower ones, a phenomenon not previously recorded in South Africa (A. Morris, personal communication). The evidence for this is two-fold. First, in both cases the lower burials are somewhat disturbed, implying that the shafts were re-opened after the initial interment. Second, the Radiocarbon dates for Burials 37A and 37B are significantly different. The median calibrated Radiocarbon date for Burial 37A is AD 896, and AD 1252 for Burial 37B, a discrepancy of 356 years. This extends beyond the second standard deviation, implying that the interments were distinct and unrelated events.

Analysis #	Burial	UCT	14C Age (years BP)	Calibrated Date (AD)	% Suitable Carbon
Pta-6862	37A	531	1180± 50 (δ 13 C = -14.2‰)	AD 874 (896) 980	2.0‰ from 64.1 g bone
Pta-6866	37B	532	840± 80 (δ 13 C = -15.8‰)	AD 1182 (1252) 1286	1.2‰ from 51.8 g bone
Pta-6869	42A	539	1060± 70 (δ 13 C = -15.9‰)	AD 980 (1015) 1041	1.0‰ from 78.8g bone

Table 5.3: Results of Radiocarbon Analysis

These dates are problematic as both individuals were interred in the same shaft. Burial 37A was fully articulated, and showed no signs of disturbance, making it extremely unlikely that it could be older than the

lower burial. As such, the burials are currently being re-dated, but the results are not yet available. Burial 42A was dated to AD 1015, and the sample for Burial 42B (UCT 540) did not contain enough collagen for analysis. These burials are unrelated to the later historical period graves at the site.

Type B

Type B is the predominant burial pattern, comprising 71.4% of the total burials exhumed (*Figure 5.3*). These are burials in which the body has been interred in a supine position with the arms folded over the pelvis or lying at the sides of the body. Thirty-five of the forty-four burials (79.5%) which fit into this category show some evidence of having been interred in a coffin. Of the total Cobern Street sample, 55.6% were coffin burials. Evidence for a coffin ranges from a few nails or other pieces of coffin hardware to partially intact wood and a clear outline of the coffin shape. In some cases, evidence of a coffin may not have been visible, or may have been overlooked during the excavation, making the actual coffin count higher than what is reflected in the archaeological evidence. All the coffins from the site were constructed of wood, with iron hardware, and all were in an advanced state of decay. None of the coffins were recovered intact. There were no lead or cast iron coffins. The coffin outline of Burial 31 was clearly visible. The coffin body was rectangular with a rounded head, and contained a neonate (see *Figure 5.3*). The partial outline of the wood edges and the nail pattern indicate that the coffin from Burial 10 would have been a lopsided hexagon which narrowed at the head. This was a common coffin style in the United States at the same period (Parrington 1987). During the early nineteenth century the stylistic preference began to switch from hexagonal to rectangular coffins. This may also have been the case in the Cape, however more data would be necessary to reach a firm conclusion. These

Figure 5.3: Type B Burials



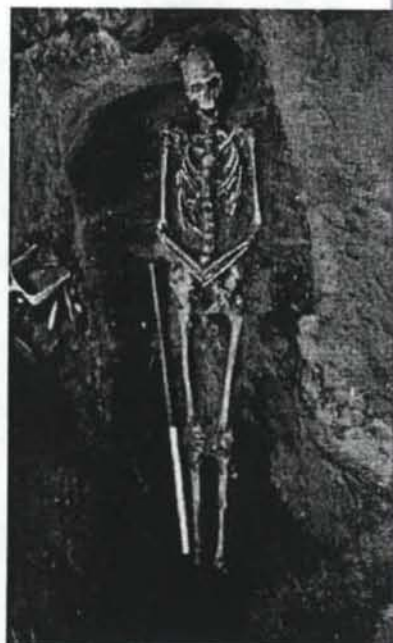
Burial 10



Burial 15



Burial 31



Burial 34

two styles may or may not be representative of how other coffins at the site looked, as few of the others were sufficiently preserved to recognise their shape, however coffin hardware was similar throughout the site. Seven of these burials had evidence of a burial shroud. This was in the form of copper or brass pins and, in a few cases, pieces of cloth. In almost all cases the axial orientation was with the head towards Signal Hill (south-west).

Burial	UCT	Age	Sex	Type	Coffin
03	460	20	Male	B	None
04	458.1	17-18	Female	B	Yes
05	461	20-30	Female	B	Yes
06	459.1	20-30	Male	B	None
07	459.2	18	Male	B	None
09	458.2	10-12	?	B	None
10	498	35-40	Female	B	Yes
11	499	40	Female	B	Yes
12	500	35-45	Male	B	Yes
13	501	30-40	Male	B	Yes
14A	502	45-55	Female	B	Yes
14B	503	Infant	?	B	Yes
15	504	25	Male	B	Yes
16	506	Neonate	?	B	Yes
17	507	Neonate	?	B	Yes
18	508	40-50	Female	B	Yes
20A	510	25-30	Male	B?	Yes
20B	511	16	Female	B?	Yes
20C	512	1.5-2	?	B?	Yes
21	514	25-35	Female	B	Yes
22	515	12-14	?	B	Yes
23	516	17-19	Female	B	Yes
26	519	50	Male	B	Yes
27	521	40-50	Male	B	Yes
28	522	50	Female	B	None
29	523.1	Neonate	?	B	Yes
30	524	5	?	B	Yes
31	525	Neonate	?	B	Yes
34	528	14-15	Female	B	None
36	530	Foetus (27-35 weeks)	?	B	Yes
39	534	6 Months	?	B	Yes
40	535	12	?	B	None
41	536	35-50	Male	B	Yes
44	542	40-50	Female	B	Yes
45	543	50	Male	B	Yes
46	544	35-50	Female	B	Yes
47	545	30-40	Male	B	None
48	546	40	Female	B	Yes
49	547	40	Male	B	Yes
50	548	35-50	Male	B	Yes
51	549	35-40	Male	B	Yes
52	550	25-35	Female	B	Yes
54	552	30-35	Male	B	None
55	553	Child	?	B	None
56	554	35	Male	B	None
58	556	35-40	Female	B	Yes
60	558	30	Female	B	Yes
61	559.1	20?	Female	B	Yes

Table 5.4: Age and Sex Distribution of Type B Burials

Type C

The third group (Type C) were deep-lying side-burials, and made up 7.9% of the sample (*Figure 5.4*). Only five burials fit into this category, three (60.0%) of which were niche burials (Burials 57, 64 and 65). The niche burials had an alcove or recess cut into the wall of the grave shaft, for the head and feet. They are interpreted as being older because they, on the whole, are deeper than the extended Type B burials, follow a different orientation, and were minimally disturbed by the other Type B burials. The bodies were interred lying on their right sides, and the axial orientation is pointing north or north-west, in line with Signal Hill and at right angles to a majority of the Type B burials. There were no coffins or other non-intrusive burial items, with the exception of a grindstone associated with Burial 64. This was not a grave good, but rather appears to be associated with an earlier burial (which was not recovered).

Burial 32 was a man of 50 to 60 year of age. He was lying almost face down, with his face and body partially turned to the right. His hands were crossed over his body. The axial orientation was north-west.

Burial 57 was a 20 to 30 year old woman. She was interred lying on her right side, with her arms drawn up in front of her body. Her head and feet were placed in small niches cut into the side of the grave shaft. The axial orientation was north. Burial 59 was a man of at least 40 years of age. He was lying on his right hand side, almost face down. His feet were missing, most likely a result of having been disturbed by the interment of Burial 56. His hands were drawn up next to his body. The axial orientation was north-west. Burial 64 was a 34 to 35 year old man. He was interred on his right side, with his arms positioned over the pelvis. The feet and hands were placed in small niches cut into the sides of the burial pit, and the head was resting on a stone "pillow". The axial

Figure 5.4: Type C Burials



Burial 32



Burial 57



Burial 59



Burial 65

orientation was north-west. There were clear signs of an earlier grave shaft, which may have been pre-colonial. There was a pile of stones, which may have been the remnants of a cairn. Burial 64 was transected by both Burials 47 and 56. Burial 65 was a 22 to 25 year old woman. The grave had a stone lining on which may have formed part of a protective covering over the body. The body and the niches were on the right side of the shaft, with the stone lining on the left side. The axial orientation was north-west.

Burial	UCT	Age	Sex	Type
32	526	50-60	Male	C
57	555	20-30	Female	C
59	557	40	Male	C
64	562	35-40	Male	C
65	563	22-25	Female	C

Table 5.5: Age and Sex Distribution of Type C Burials

Type D

The last group, Type D (14.3% of the sample), consists of bone scatters, and in no sense represents a burial pattern. These are highly disturbed burials consisting mostly of semi-articulated or disarticulated and sometimes scattered skeletal material. Burials were re-classified as bone scatters when there was not enough contextual information to determine the orientation or burial position of the individual. Additionally, a number of bone concentrations were identified as such in the field, and were assigned scatter numbers (c.f.: Chapter 4 for an explanation of the numbering system). These burials have little or no contextual material and often appear to be the result of older burials being disturbed to make room for more recent interments.

In several cases it appears that the loose bones were piled back on top of the coffin, following interment of a newer grave. The top 20cm of the

grave shaft of Burial 10 had a large concentration of bone. There was a small bone concentration above Burial 13, which may have been the remains of another burial. The lid of the coffin containing Burial 14 had collapsed and a small bone concentration was found on the lid. The bone was probably in the spoil heap used to refill the burial chamber, and may be a result of the disturbance of an earlier burial during the interment of Burial 14. The coffin lid of Burial 15 had collapsed. Remains of another individual, including a broken cranium, were found in the trench fill of the grave shaft. These bones were not articulated and were most probably the result of an earlier burial being disturbed when Burial 15 was interred. Loose, disarticulated bone was found in the grave shaft, and in and around the coffin containing Burial 51, indicating that the grave shaft may have been dug into another burial. Burial 53, classified as Type D, was a cluster of bone that seems to have been piled together, possibly a body disinterred during the opening of another grave and then re-buried. It is not clear if this occurrence was always recorded in the field notes, and may have been more wide spread than the records imply.

It is possible that these concentrations occur as a result of hasty and frequent interments during one of the smallpox epidemics dating to 1713, 1755, 1812-13, 1840, and 1862 (Smith 1989; Davids 1984). Disturbance under such circumstances would have been inevitable due to the absence of surface markers at the site. Further, the site would have been levelled before row houses were constructed at the site in the nineteenth century (c.f.: Chapter 6 for a discussion of the site history), however it is not possible to determine which disturbances were due to construction activities, and which date to the use of the site as a burial ground.

Graves Not Conforming to Burial Types A through D

The burial classifications described above are loose groupings, consequently there are several anomalies. Three graves contained multiple individuals. Burial 14 was a coffin burial that contained two individuals (*Figure 5.5*). It was classified as a Type B burial. Burial 14A was a 45 to 55 year old woman and 14B was an infant. Copper stains on the woman's forehead, and a pin adhering to a piece of cloth, suggest a burial shroud. Burial 20 contained three individuals.

Burial 20A was a 25 to 30 year old man, 20B was a 16 year old woman, and 20C was a child of 1.5 to 2 years of age (*Figure 5.6*). One of the adults had a hand resting on the shoulder of the other, and the child was inbetween them. There was evidence of a coffin, and it appears that all three individuals were interred at the same time. However, it is not clear if all three individuals were in the same coffin, or in two separate ones. Both adults had intentional dental modifications (see below). Burial 20 was provisionally classified as a Type B burial based on the presence of a coffin, however the orientation more closely resembles the Type C burials.

Burial 55 was a child apparently buried on its back. The axial orientation was similar to the other Type B burials, except that the feet pointed towards Signal Hill (south-west). Burial 62 was a highly disturbed grave containing a 5 to 6 year old child. It was not possible to determine the burial position, however the axial orientation was north. Burial 63 was also highly disturbed, and contained a one-year-old child. The axial orientation was north-west.

Figure 5.5: Burial 14

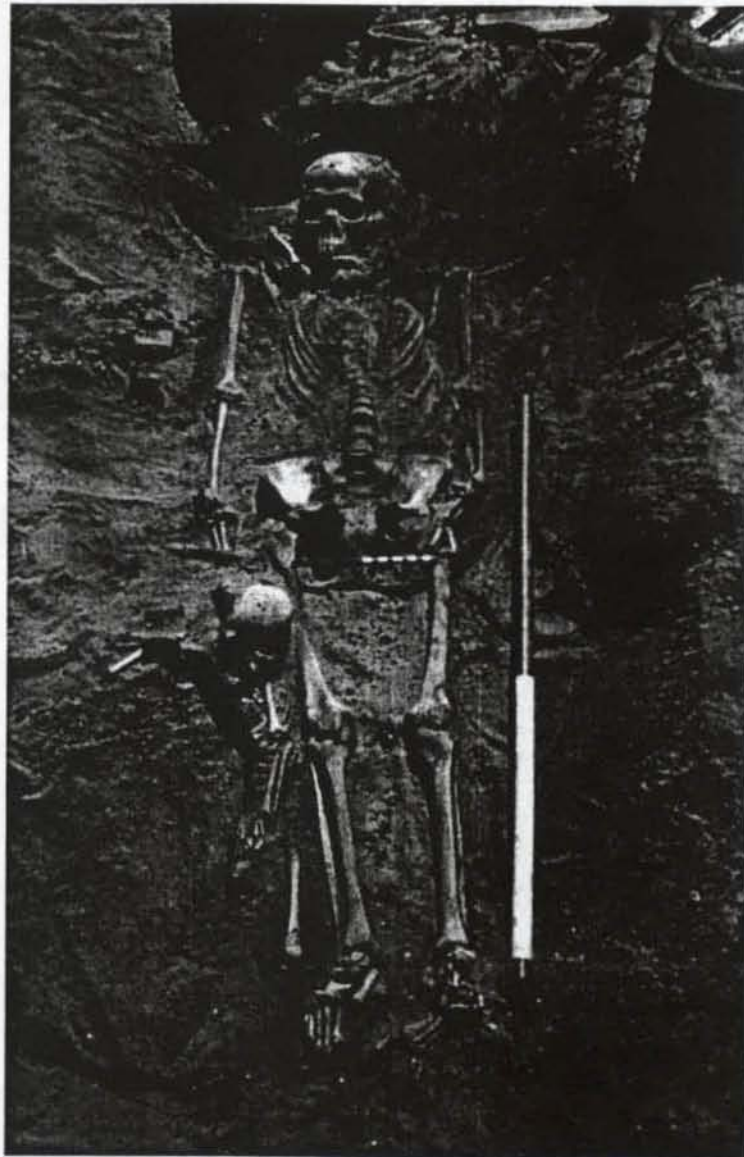
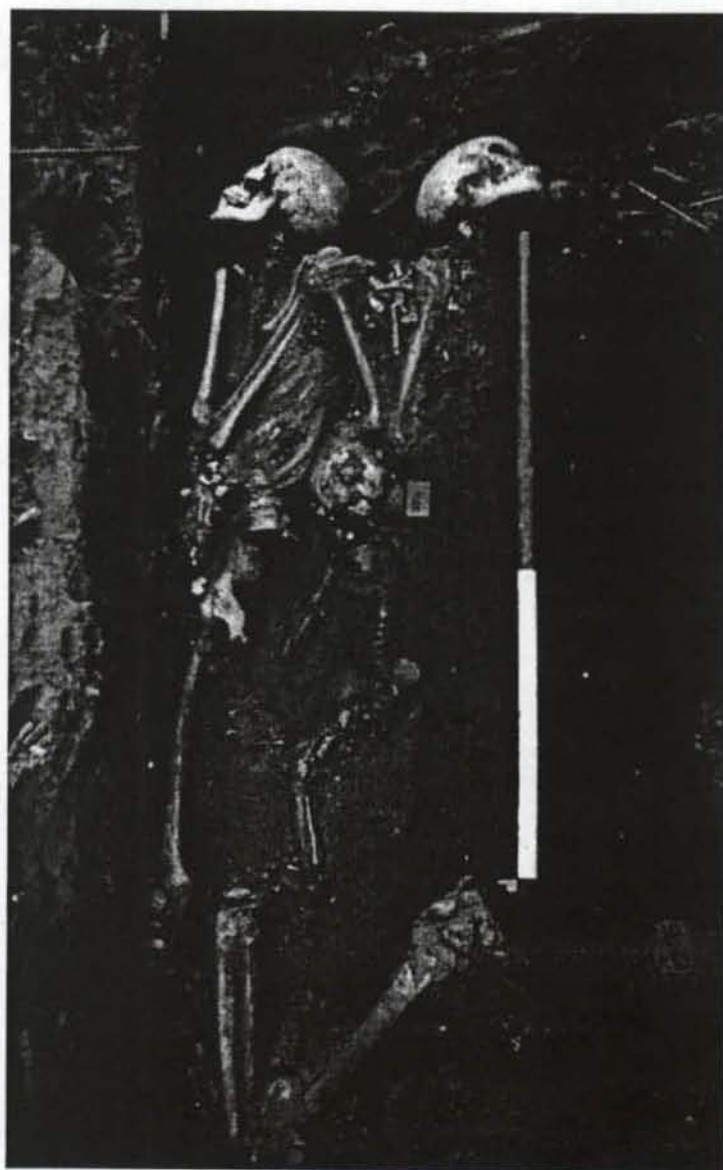


Figure 5.6: Burial 20



Spatial Layout

The shallowest graves appear on the southern half of site. However, the land surface at the time the site was used as a burial ground is unknown. The site would have been levelled when row houses were built in the nineteenth century, and again during the construction activities that led to the discovery of the site. A series of overlays have been created to show the spatial layout of the burial ground (*Figures 5.7 - 5.21*). Each of the graves has been placed on a map based on their depth above or below datum. The datum points are arbitrary marks chosen at the time of excavation, after the site was levelled. The shallowest graves occur at four centimetres above datum, and the deepest were one hundred and three centimetres below datum. It has not been possible to infer a general chronology based on burial depth.

The Type A burials were along the south-east edge (Burial 42) and south-west edge (Burial 37) of the site. They bear no relation to the colonial period layout of the burial ground, as the top of the cairns would have been hidden beneath the land surface before any of the other interments took place.

The Type B graves were scattered across the site, but oriented in the same general direction (*Figure 5.22*). They are unevenly spaced, sometimes overlapping. The spatial distribution of Type B burials shows no specific pattern based on age or gender.

The Type C burials are clustered together in a group (*Figure 5.23*). Four lie within the north-west quadrant of the site, and the fifth, Burial 32, lies within the south-west quadrant. As these graves seem to be older than the Type B graves, this may be evidence that the northern half of the site

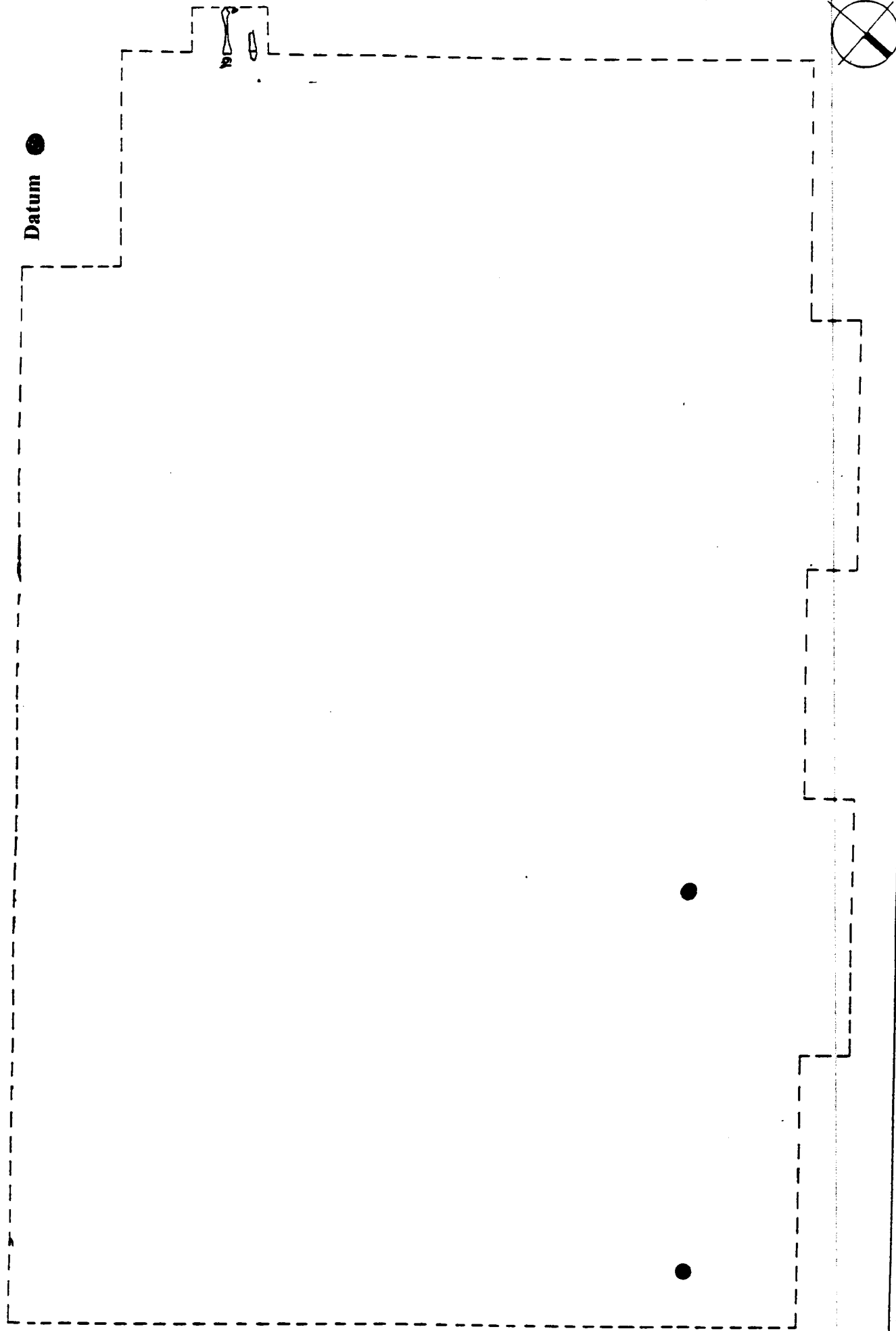


Figure 5.7: Burials 40cm Above Datum

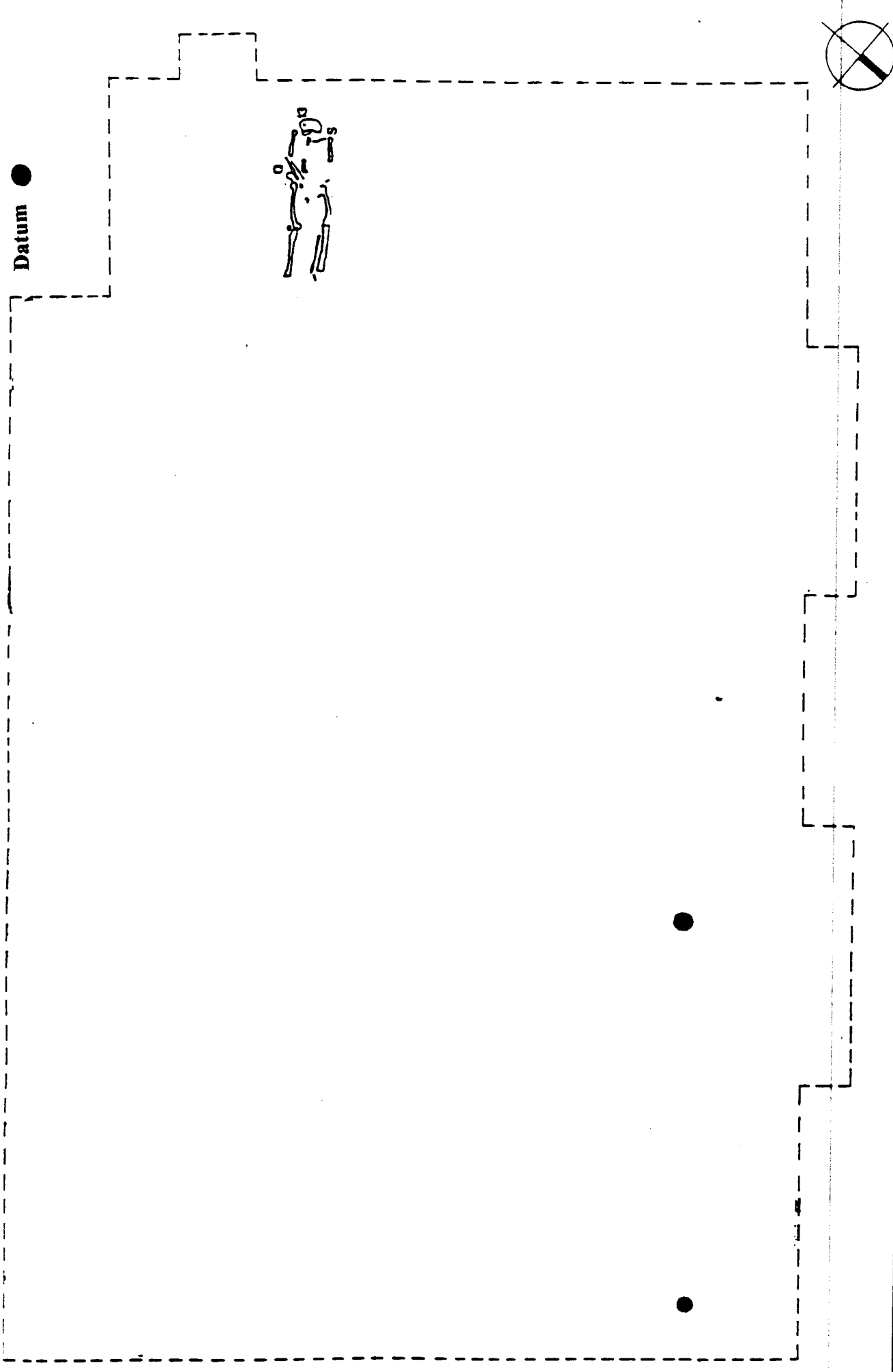


Figure 5.8: Burials 20cm Above Datum

meters

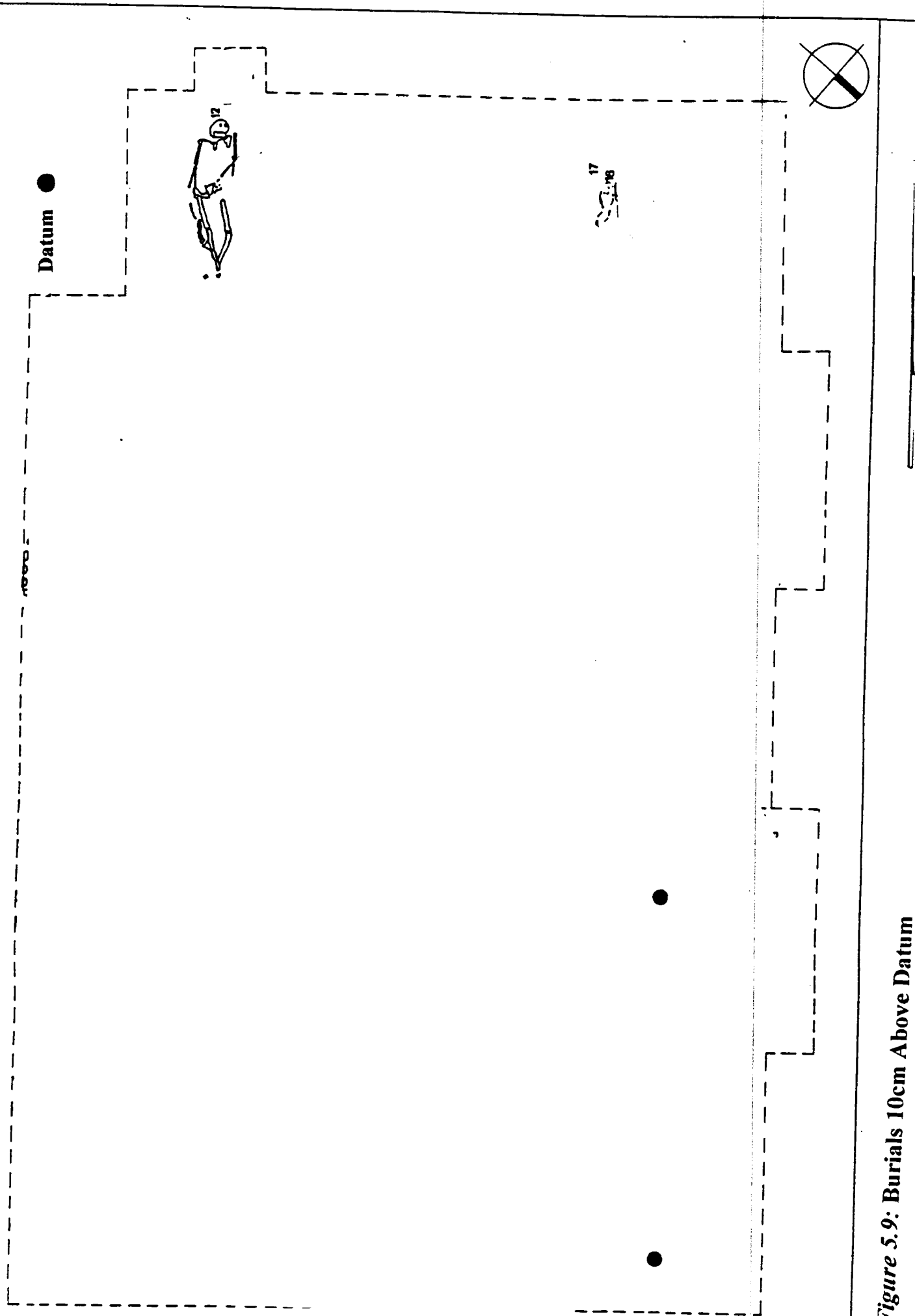


Figure 5.9: Burials 10cm Above Datum

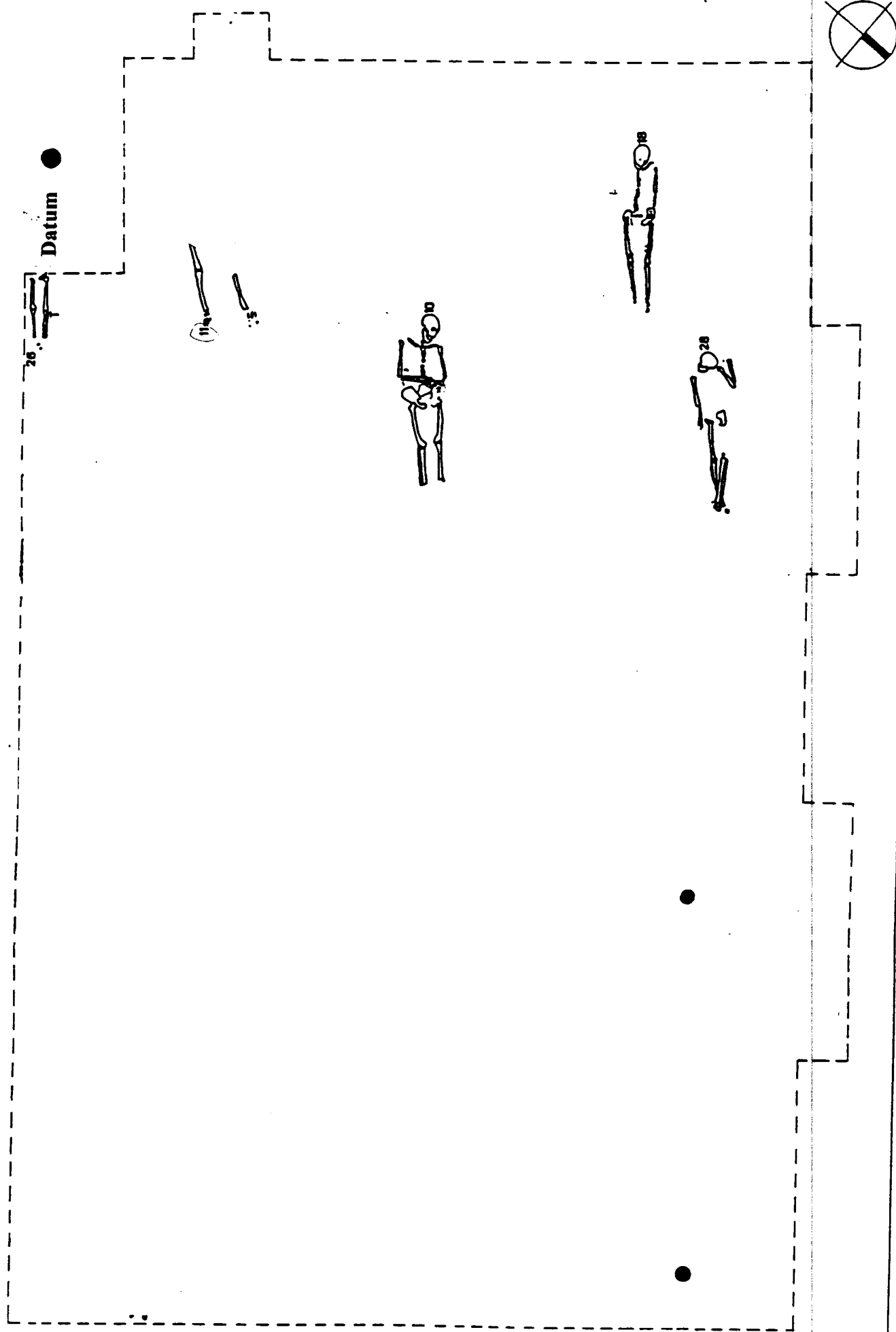


Figure 5.10: Burials 0cm Above Datum

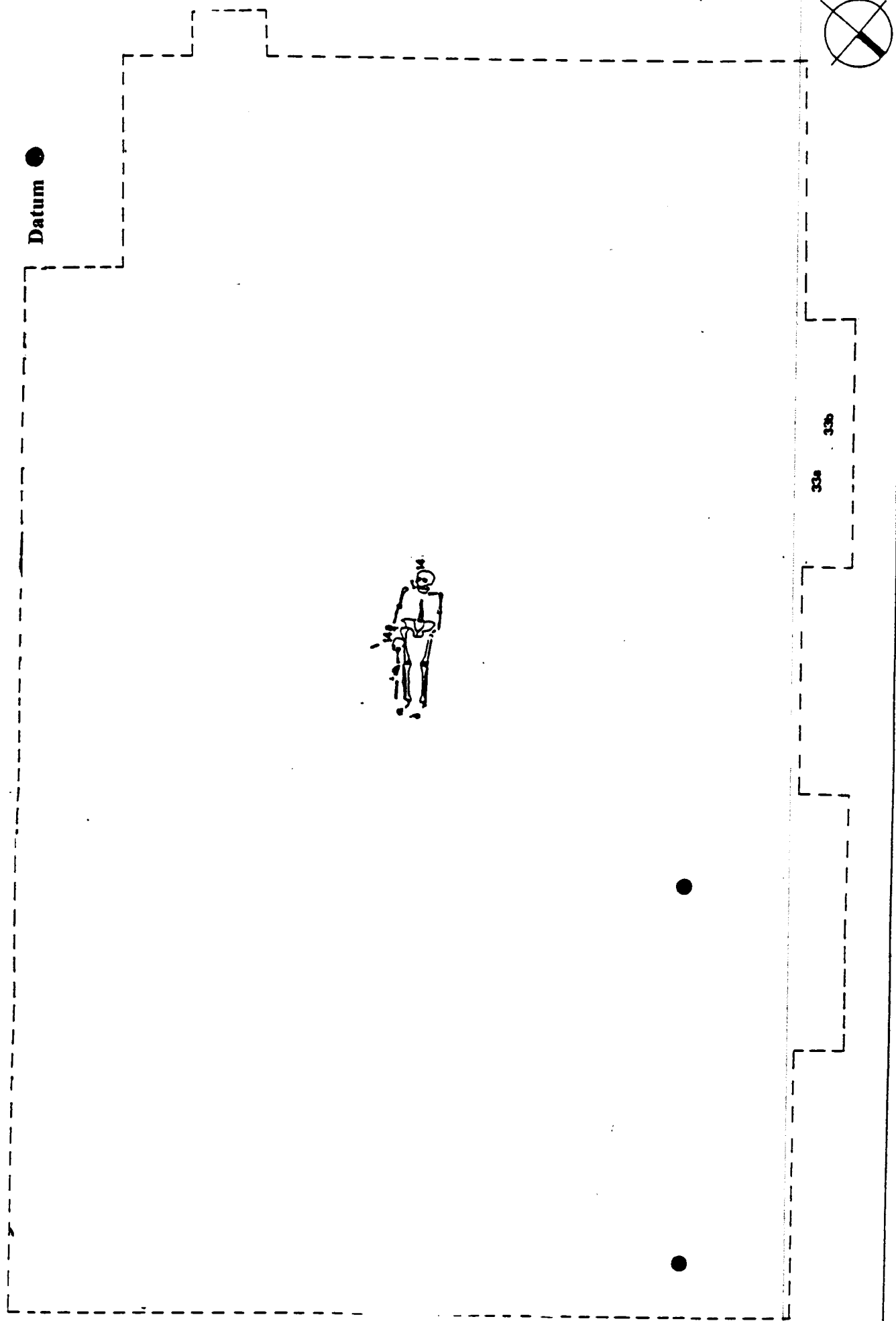


Figure 5.11: Burials 10cm Below Datum

metres

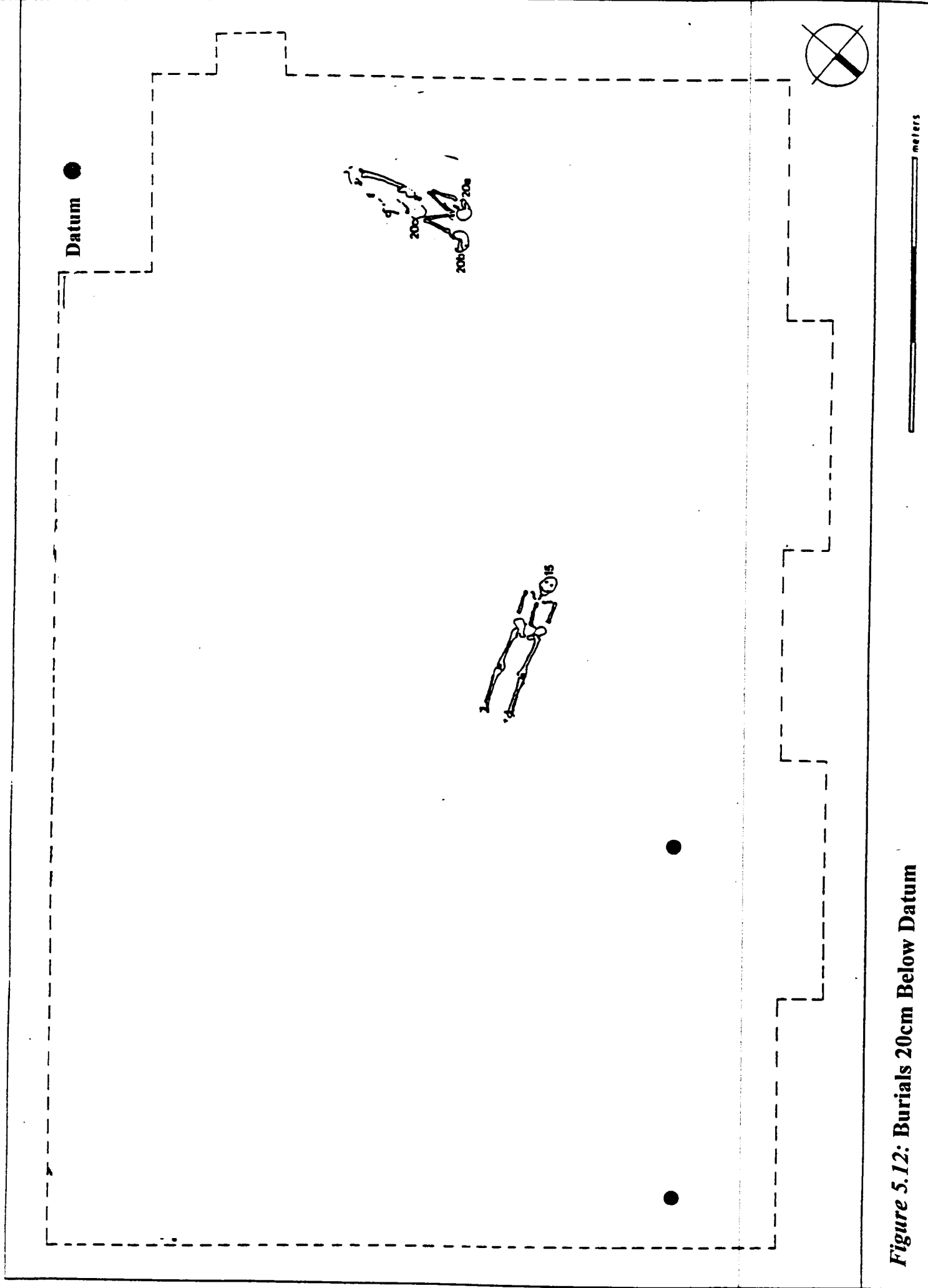


Figure 5.12: Burials 20cm Below Datum

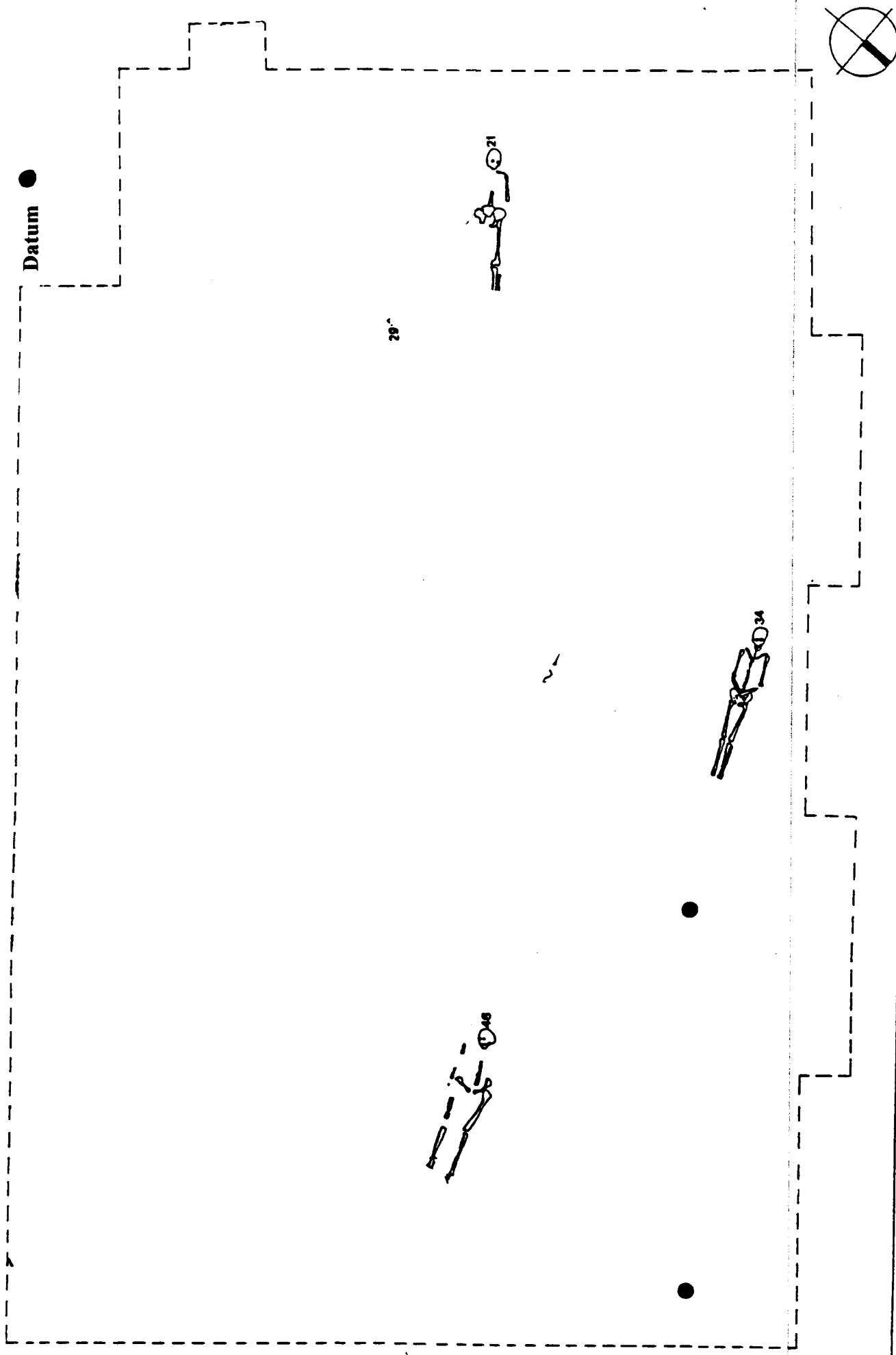


Figure 5.13: Burials 30cm Below Datum

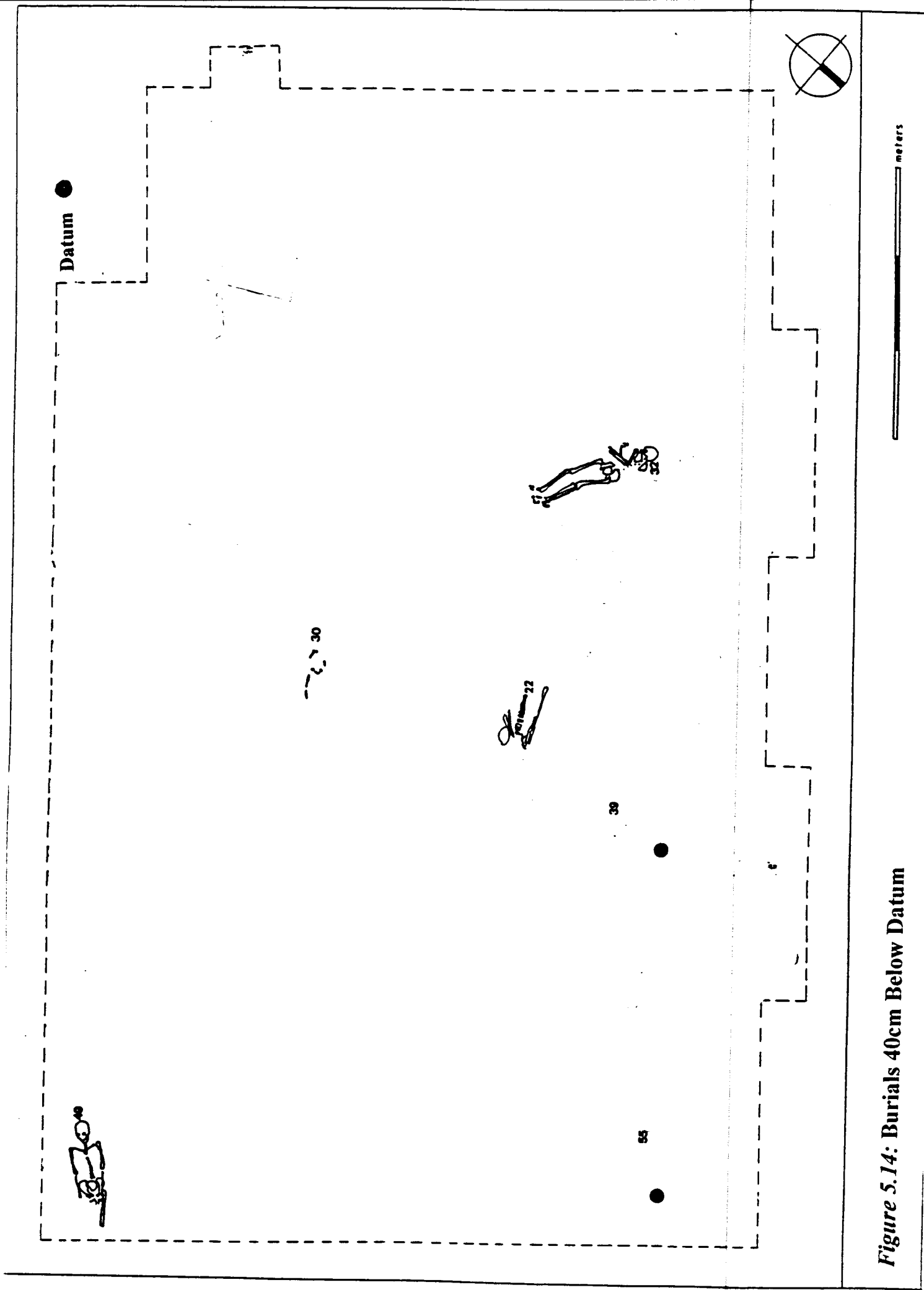


Figure 5.14: Burials 40cm Below Datum

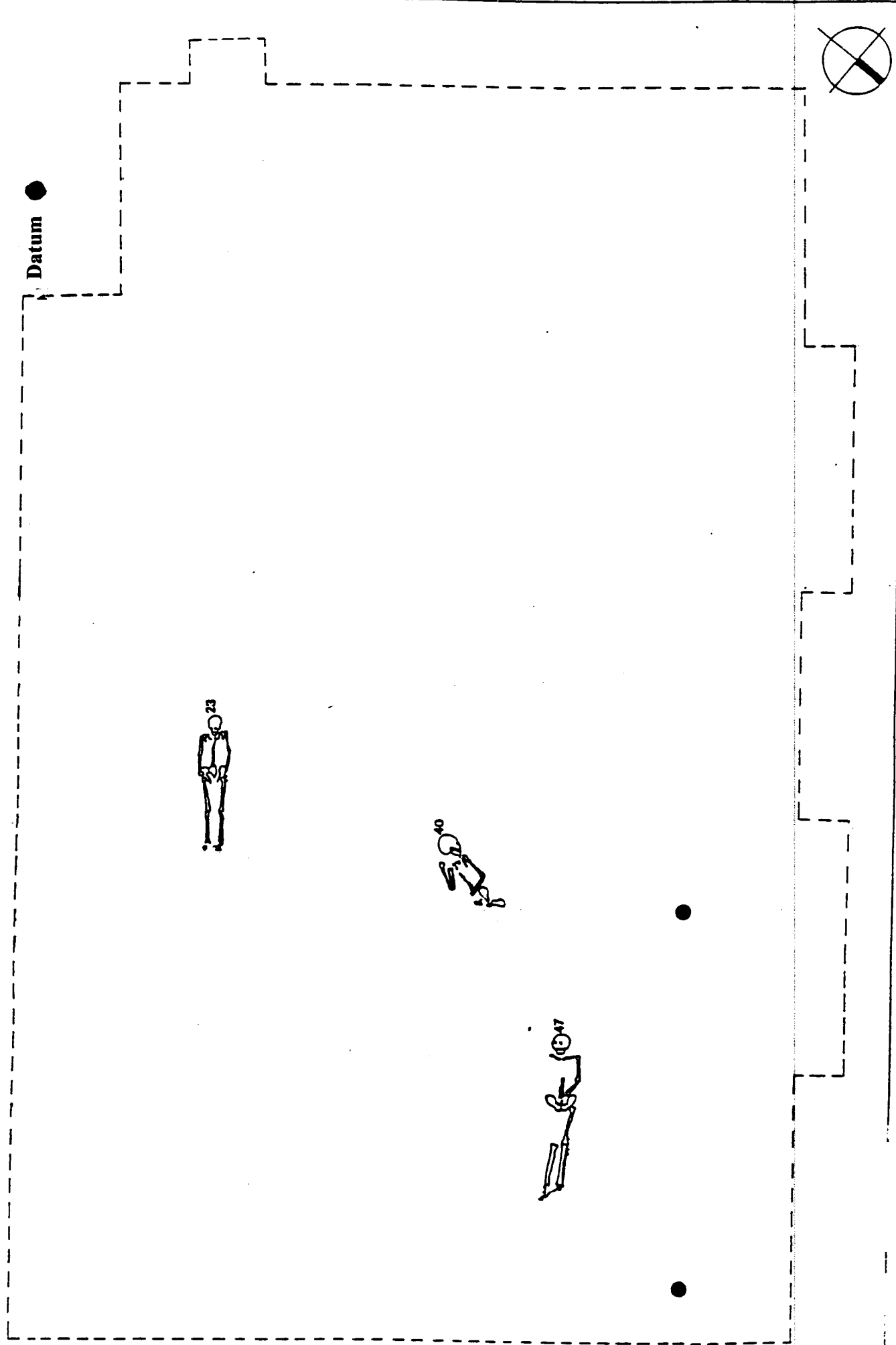


Figure 5.15: Burials 50cm Below Datum

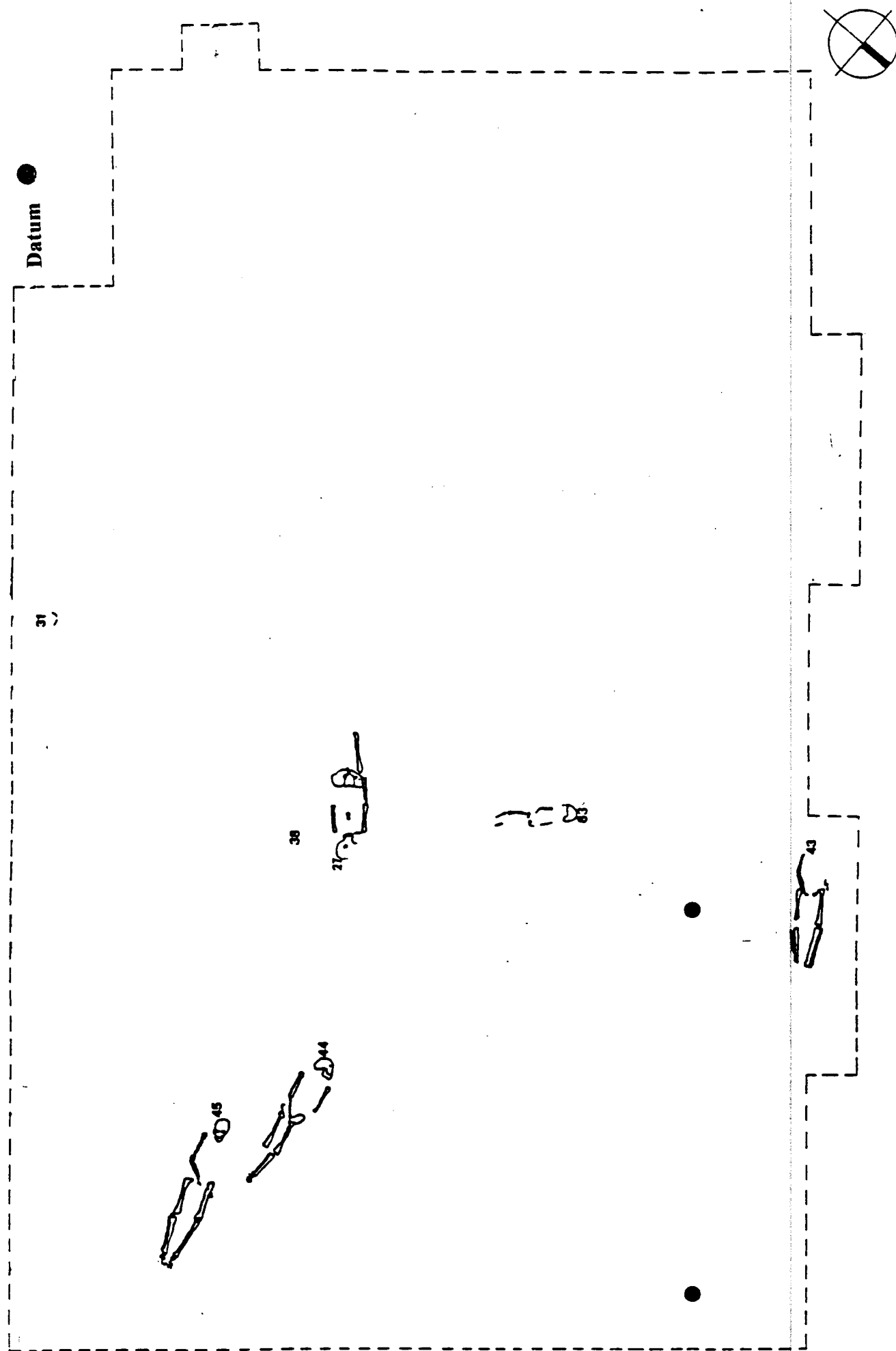


Figure 5.16: Burials 60cm Below Datum

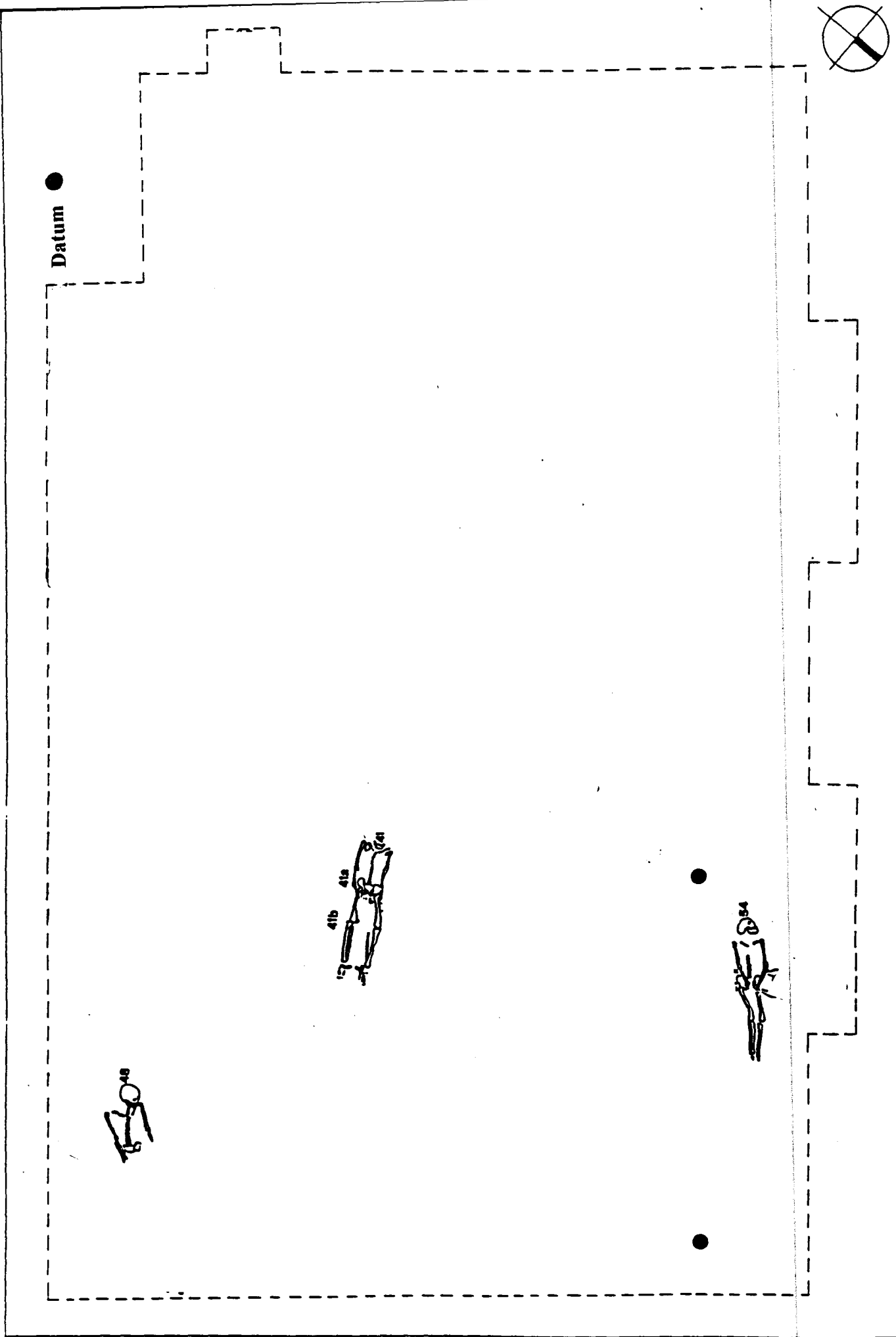


Figure 5.17: Burials 70cm Below Datum

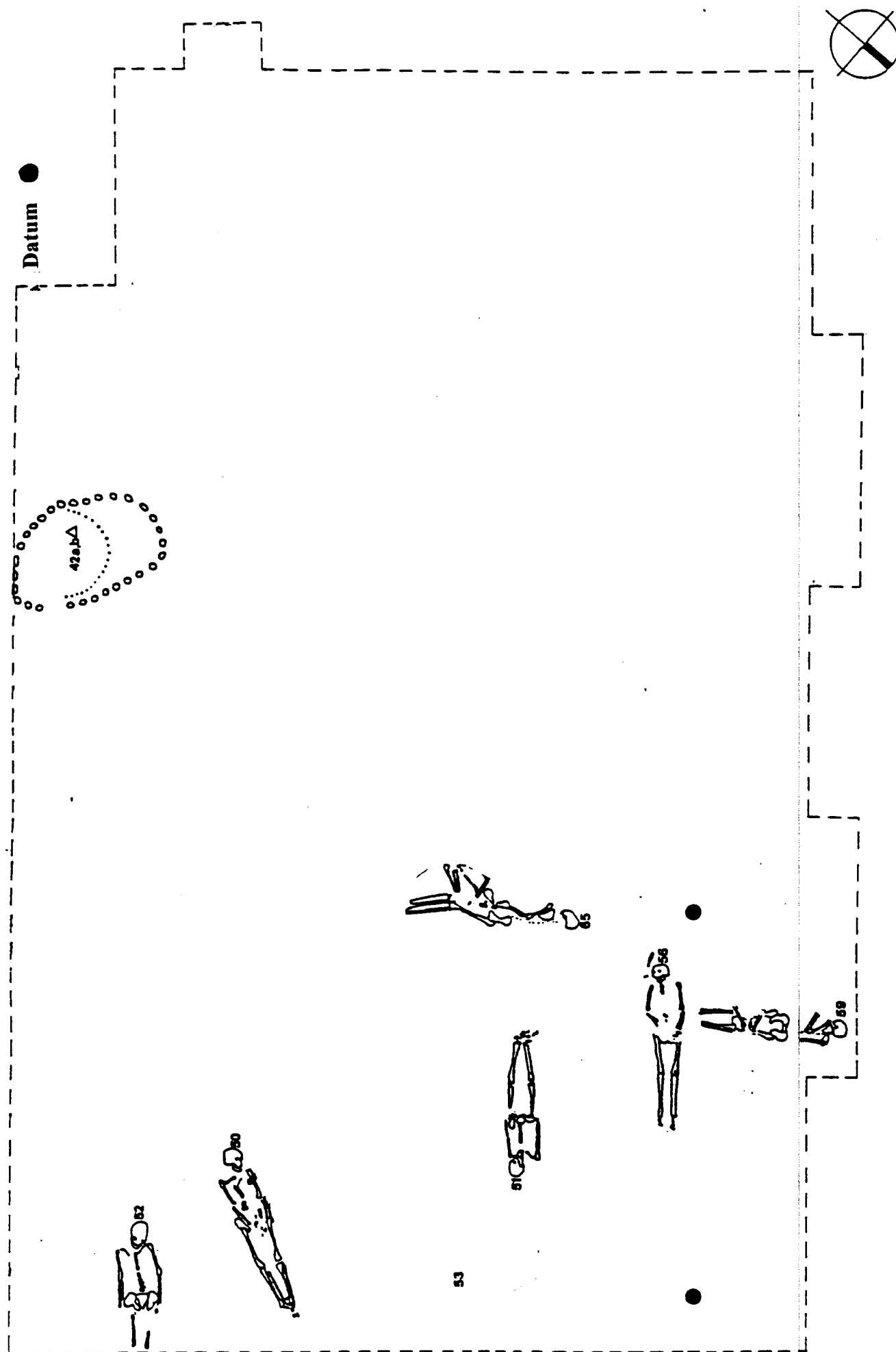


Figure 5.18: Burials 80cm Below Datum

meters

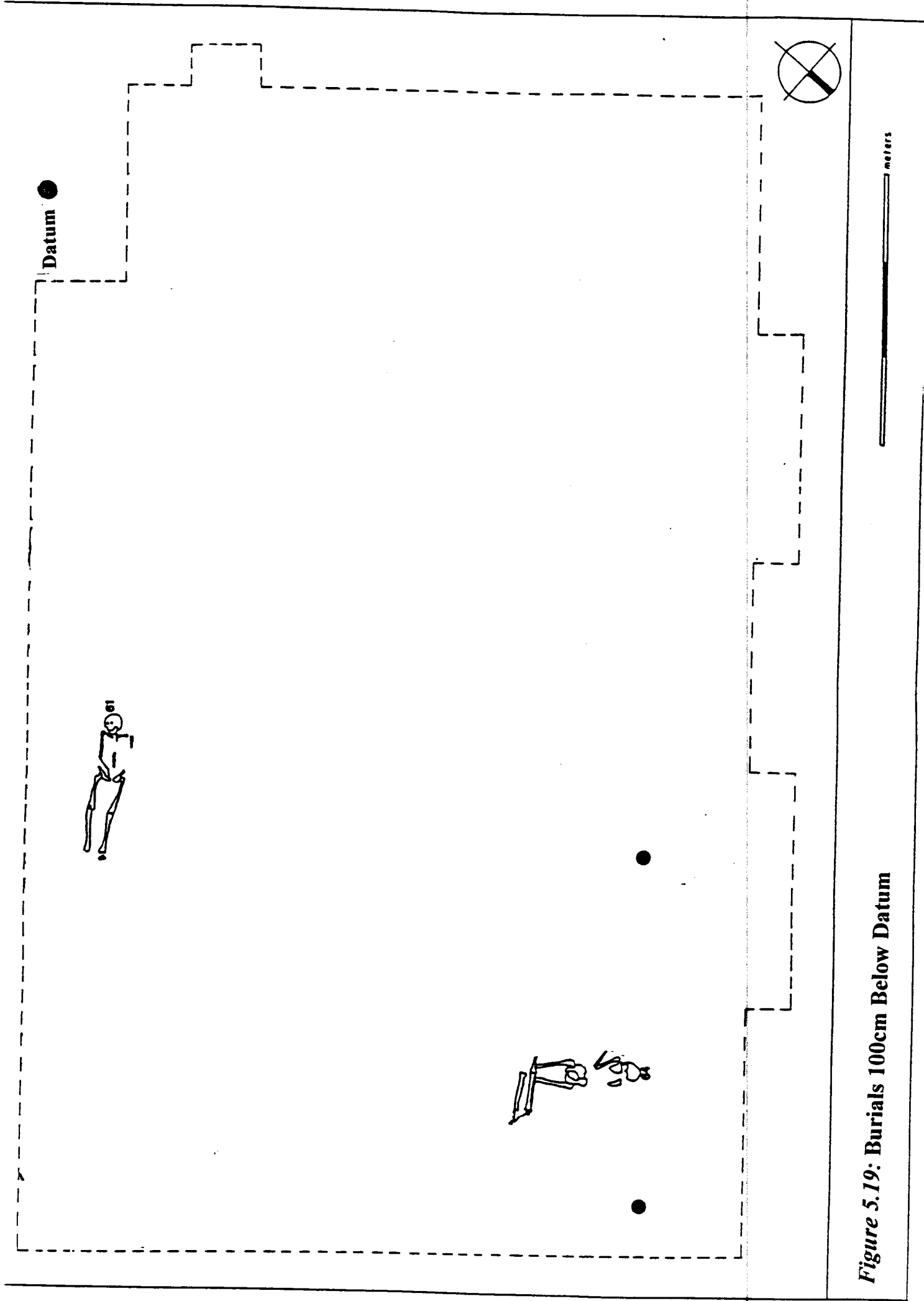


Figure 5.19: Burials 100cm Below Datum

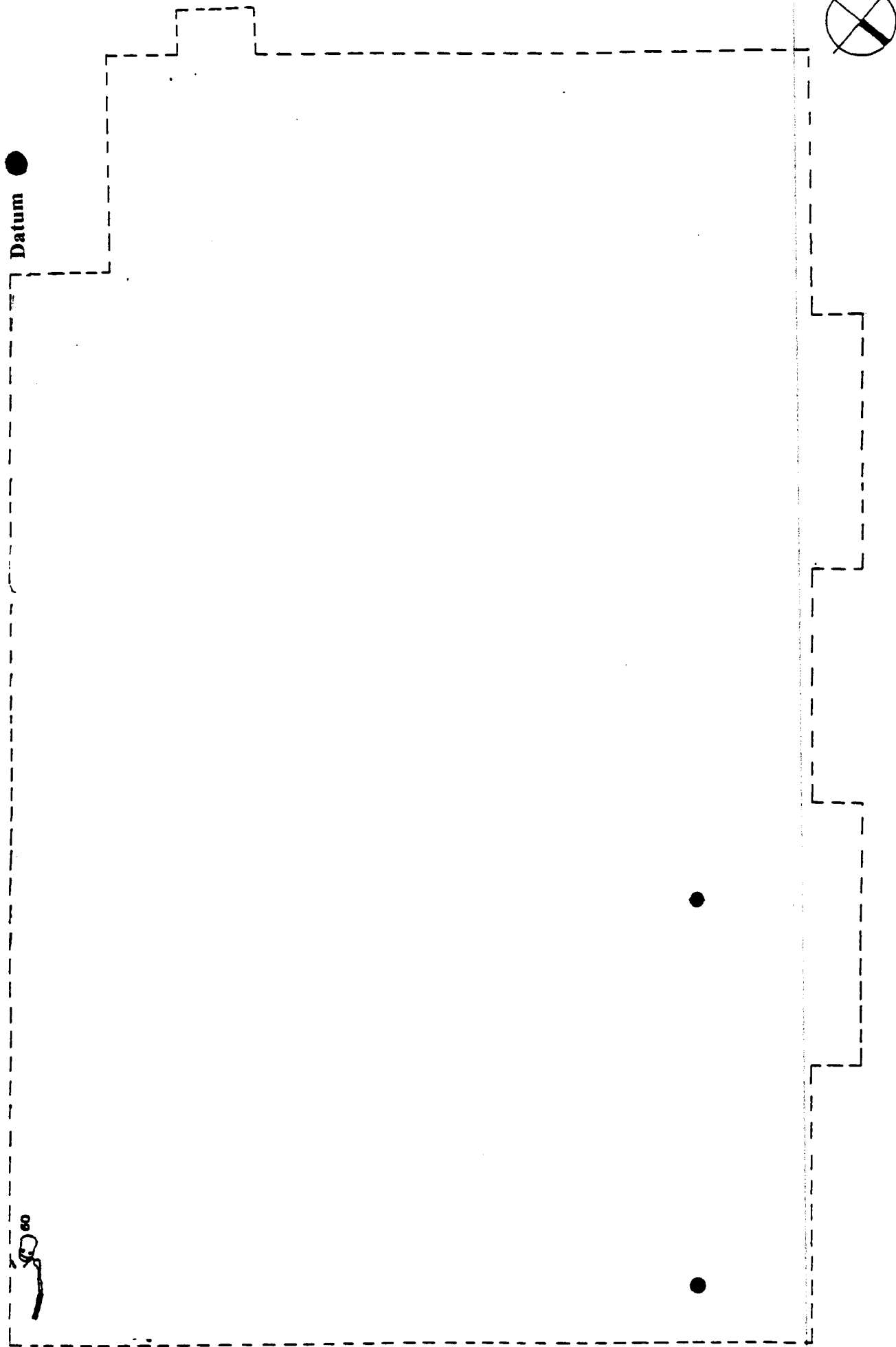


Figure 5.20: Burials 120cm Below Datum

outline was ovoid with a scalloped edge, and was engraved with "MHK 1764" (*Figure 5.37*). Both were placed on the woman's right shoulder.

Other unusual grave goods found in direct association with burials include "cut-throat" razor blades associated with Burial 27 (a 40 to 50 year old man) and Burial 41 (a 35 to 40 year old man). The razor recovered with Burial 27 was found on the right side of the body, next to the pelvis.

A penknife was associated with Burial 52 (a 25 to 35 year old woman). A bone handle and the knife were found next to the head of Burial 54 (a 30 to 35 year old man). (*Figure 5.38*)

Additionally a brass thimble was found with Burial 36 (a foetus) (*Figure 5.38*).

Burial 3, a 20 year old man, was interred with an iron shackle with two loops fused to it around his left ankle (*Figure 5.39*). This has been classified as "other" as it bore no relation to the interment process and was not a grave good in the sense that the "personal" items are. In colonial Cape Town, one ended up in bondage *via* slavery or as a punishment for a crime. The fact that the shackle was not removed was an oversight, which seems to indicate that the man was buried by his captors rather than kin. However, it is still rather surprising that the shackle was not removed, as burying it with the body represents an unnecessary expense. Under Dutch law, criminals convicted of crimes perceived to be exceptionally gruesome or abhorrent were not only executed, but sometimes the corpse was symbolically punished as well (Schama 1991). This is one possible explanation for the presence of the

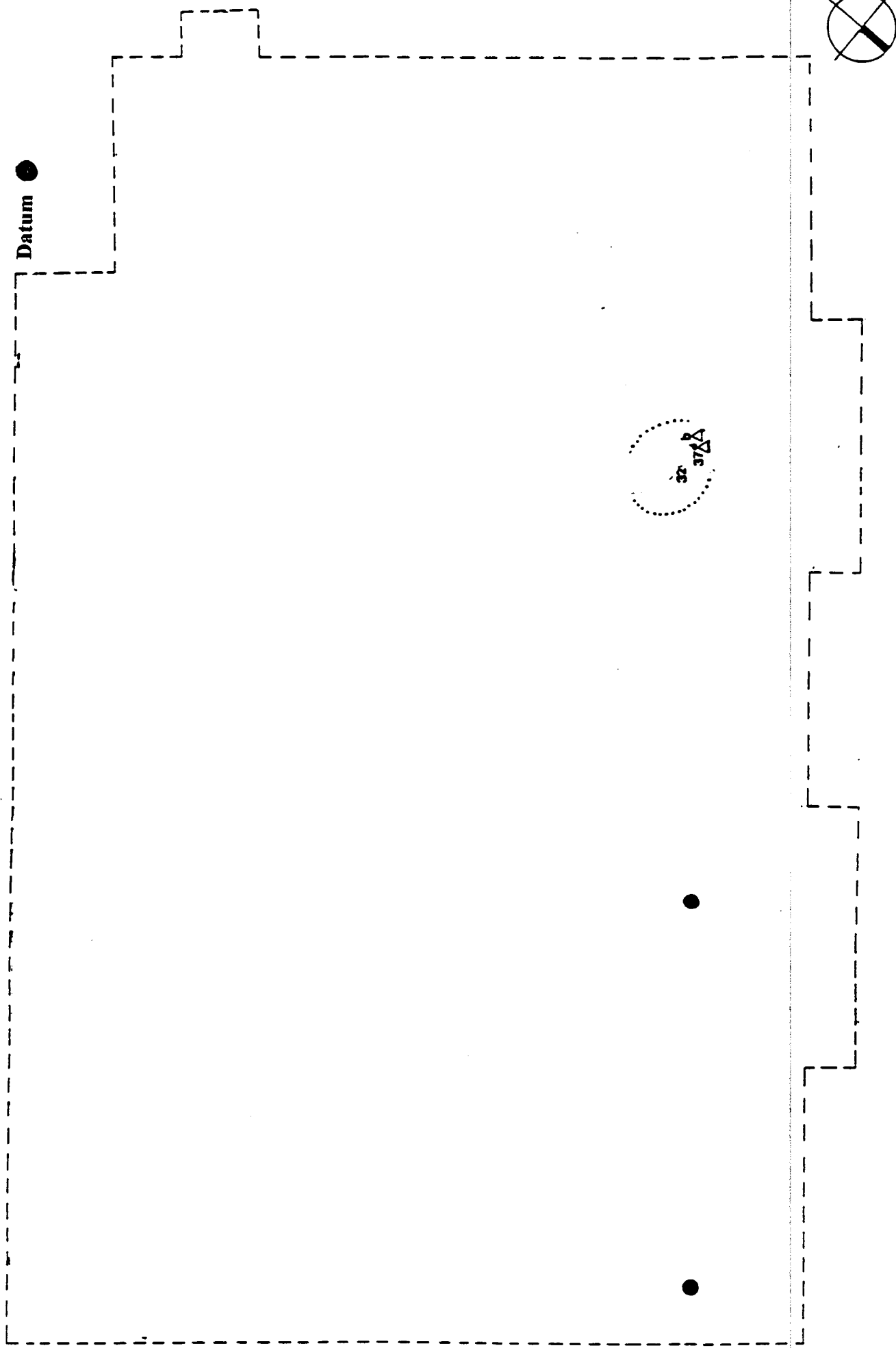


Figure 5.21: Burials 130cm Below Datum

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 meters

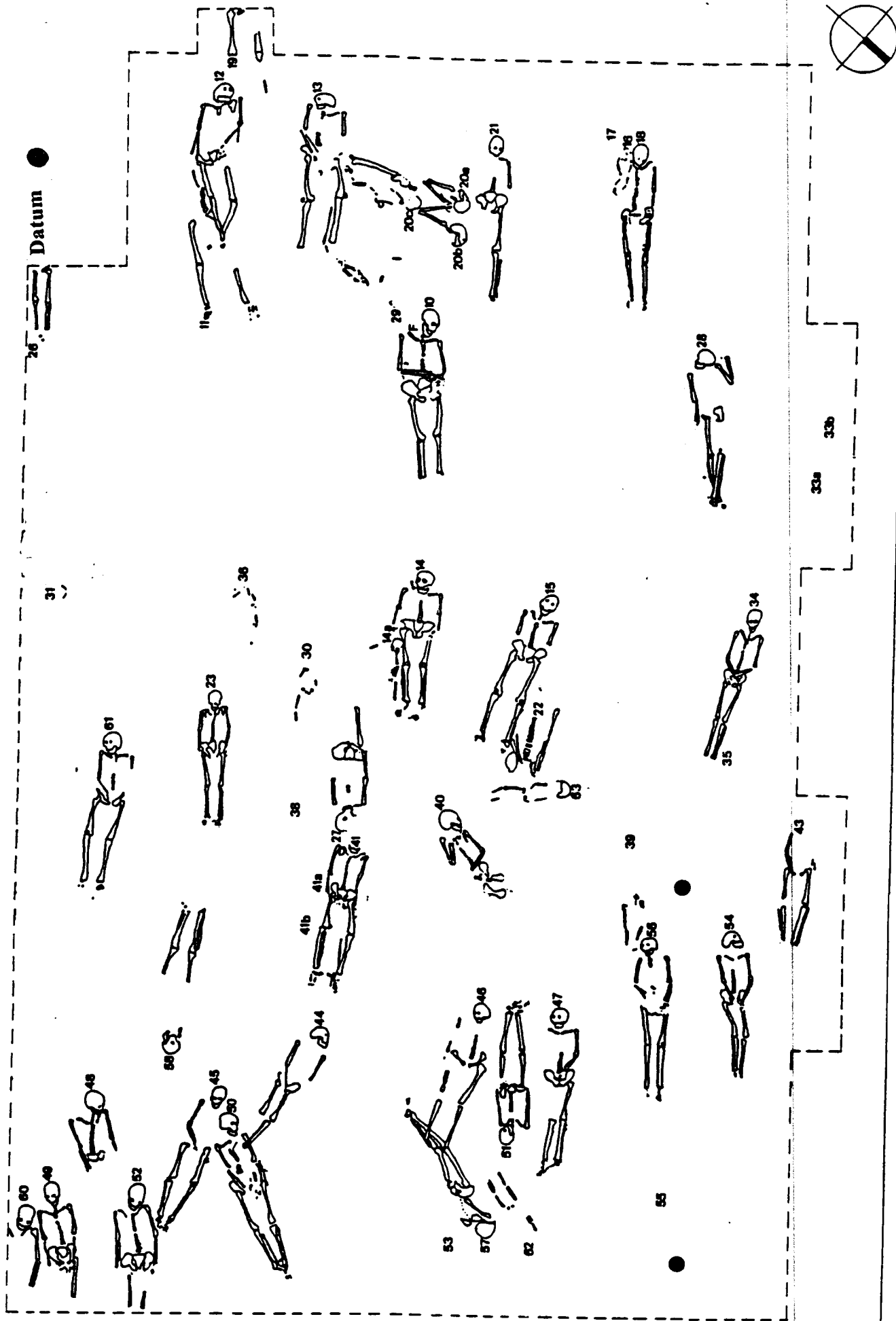


Figure 5.22: Distribution Type B Burials

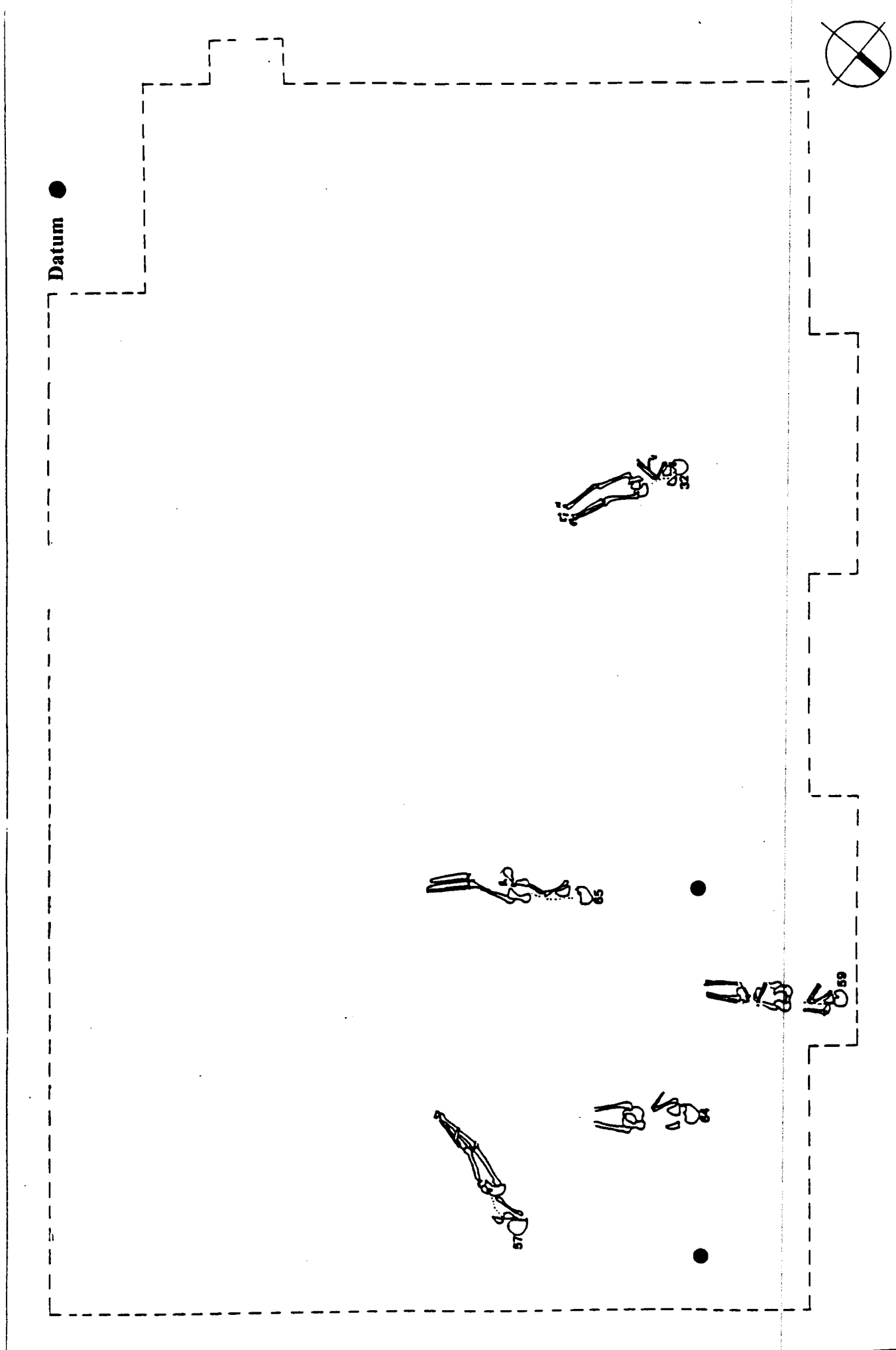


Figure 5.23: Distribution of Type C Burials

came into use earlier than the southern half during the colonial period. However, at this point this is mere speculation.

Dental Modifications

Handler *et al* has defined dental modification as "...The intentional deformation or alteration of the natural appearance of teeth..." (Handler *et al* 1982). This takes place in the form of artificial shaping, use of inlays, and removal of teeth for personal ornamentation (Milner & Larsen 1991). The practice is also referred to as dental mutilation. However, following Cox's example, dental modification will be the term used as mutilation has potentially negative connotations (Cox 1995).

Modification was practised by both sexes in the pre-contact Americas, Asia, Australia, New Guinea and throughout most of Angola and Central Africa until relatively recently (c.f.: Cox 1995 for a discussion of the African ethnographic literature). Intentional modification can take the form of chipping, filing, ablation (the intentional removal of teeth), and drilling (Milner & Larsen 1991). As ablation is difficult to distinguish from natural or accidental pre-mortem tooth loss archaeologically (Morris 1989), chipping is the only form relevant to the Cobern Street skeletons.

Five of the burials (six individuals), or 7.9% of the total sample, had intentional dental modifications (Morris & Phillips 1997). All of them have been classified as Type B burials. There were three different patterns of ornamentation, all of which involved the chipping of the incisors. In Pattern I, displayed on Burials 20A and 20B, the maxillary central incisors were chipped mesially at the midline, and the lateral maxillary incisors were chipped distally, resulting in a "V" shaped gap between the two central incisors and a second gap between the lateral

between the two central incisors and a second gap between the lateral incisors and the canines. Burial 20A was a 25 to 30 year old man, and 20B was a 16 year old woman. It has been estimated that Burial 20B had her teeth shaped approximately six months prior to her death (Morris & Phillips 1997). This is based on the fact that the teeth had been chipped too deeply, leading to the formation of an abscess, visible in the maxilla. This pattern was repeated on Burial 40, except that the second incisors were left untouched. Pattern I was also reported from one of the skeletons recovered at Fort Knokke, but is not recorded elsewhere in the African literature (Cox 1995). A similar pattern was used historically by the Macuas of Mozambique, and groups in the Congo (Cox 1995).

Pattern II occurred on Burial 50, and was the inverse of Pattern I. In this case, the central maxillary incisors were chipped distally, and the lateral maxillary incisors were chipped mesially. This pattern is unique, compared to other skeletons recovered at the Cape.

Pattern III, occurring on Burials 40 and 60, resulted in the central and lateral maxillary incisors being sharpened to a points, by chipping the incisors both mesially and distally. The same pattern is seen among the Fort Knokke sample, and is a technique practised historically by the Maconde of Tanzania, Yao of Malawi, and Macua of Mozambique (Cox 1995).

Burial	UCT	Age	Sex	Type	Pattern
20A	510	25-30	Male	B?	I
20B	511	16	Female	B?	I
40	535	12	?	B	I
49	547	40	Male	B	III
50	548	35-50	Male	B	II
60	558	30	Female	B	III

Table 5.6: Burials with Dental Modifications

The Artefacts³

The artefacts recovered from Cobern Street have been grouped into six categories. Objects such as a Khoikhoi pot, grindstones and ochre associated with the cairn have been classified as LSA items, and were associated with the two cairn graves. The second category consists of coffin hardware. This is the most common artefact type. The third group is clothing items. Burial items associated with the interment process are the fourth category. The fifth group is personal items such as adornments or possessions. These items were not essential to the interment process, but were added to accompany the deceased. Categories two to five were all associated with Type B graves. Finally, a number of the artefacts have been classified as intrusive. These items may fit into other descriptive categories, however they were non-intentional inclusions in the grave shaft or fill. While informative about site taphonomy, they do not tell us anything about cultural practices of the time period.

LSA Artefacts

Both Type A burials contained some form of grave goods (see **Table 5.1** for summary information). One lower grindstone, with groove-like facets on two sides, and two flakes were recovered among the stones used for the cairn from Burial 37(**Figure 5.24**). A Khoikhoi pot was found placed below the lower individual (37B). The pot was in pieces but nearly complete, and is a typical Khoikhoi vessel (Wilson 1995) (**Figure 5.25**). The maximum height is 290mm and the maximum body diameter is 720mm. The vertical shape is ovoid, and the horizontal shape is elliptical. Wall thickness ranges from 7mm to 8.5mm. The pot is light brown to

³ For a complete list of artefacts recovered from the graves, refer to the artefact catalogue in Appendix 2.



Figure 5.24: Shells and Stone Tools from Burial 37



Figure 5.25: Khoikhoi Pot from Burial 37

light grey, with soot stains on the exterior, and carbonised residue on the interior, implying that it was once used for cooking. There are two mamilliform bosses on opposite sides of shoulder. The neck is vertical and concave, however most of the upper neck and rim were missing. A cow phalange was placed below the pot. The intentional placement of the phalange helps to confirm that the burials were in fact Khoikhoi, and if the Radiocarbon dates are accurate, is among the earliest samples of cattle collected from an archaeological context (dated by association with the Burials).

A grindstone and a utilised stone (that appears to have been battered or ground) was recovered from the cairn over Burial 42 (*Figure 5.26*). Bits of ochre were found among the skeletons, and some of the bones and the soil around the cranium of 42B were stained red from the ochre. Additionally, fragments of a clay pot and a tortoise carapace bowl were found associated with Burial 42B (*Figure 5.27*).

Coffin Hardware

The coffin hardware throughout the site is fairly simple and uniform in style (*Figures 5.28-5.29*). There were wrought or cut nails, handles, backplates, hinges, and a keyhole plate, all made of iron. Due to the large quantities of coffin hardware, particularly nails, only a sample was collected during the excavation, and in some cases the presence of hardware was only noted and not collected. Thus, quantities will not be discussed (except to say that this is the largest single group of artefacts). The nails are of varying sizes, however they are heavily corroded and non-diagnostic. The other hardware is simple, unadorned and, as with the nails, most likely of local manufacture. Some form of hardware



Figure 5.26: Stone Tools from Burial 42



Figure 5.27: Shells and Tortoise Carapace from Burial 42

appears in all the coffin graves, and as intrusions in some of the other graves.

In a couple of instances, the coffins and their hardware were well described in the field notes. The coffin containing Burial 13 had legs and well preserved sides. The coffin containing Burial 18 had handles at the head and the foot of the coffin. The handles were fixed into place rather than free swinging. There appears to have been a latch on the outside, and there may have been extra handles on the sides of the coffin. The coffin containing Burial 21 had handles at the head and at the left side of the coffin. The coffin containing Burial 23 had handles at the head and foot ends. The coffin containing Burial 60 had large quantities of iron on the coffin with "L" shaped brackets on the corners and metal strips on the sides. The coffin containing Burial 50 was painted white both inside and out. The coffin containing Burial 52 had green staining over large areas of the coffin wood, implying that there was either copper plating in the coffin, or that the coffin had been painted green on the inside. There was a large amount of iron holding the coffin wood together. These are the only reported cases of paint on the coffin wood, however others may have been painted as well. Unfortunately, the other coffin burials were too badly disturbed, or inadequately recorded, to say anything more substantive. For this reason it has not been possible to discern patterns of coffin style.

Additionally some coffin wood samples were collected. The coffin wood has been submitted to E. February at the South African Museum for analysis, however the results have not been received.

Burial	UCT	Age	Sex	Type
04	458.1	17-18	Female	B
05	461	20-30	Female	B
10	498	35-40	Female	B
11	499	40	Female	B
12	500	35-45	Male	B
13	501	30-40	Male	B
14A	502	45-55	Female	B
14B	503	Infant	?	B
15	504	25	Male	B
16	506	Neonate	?	B
17	507	Neonate	?	B
18	508	40-50	Female	B
20A	510	25-30	Male	B?
20B	511	16	Female	B?
20C	512	1.5-2	?	B?
21	514	25-35	Female	B
22	515	12-14	?	B
23	516	17-19	Female	B
26	519	50	Male	B
27	521	40-50	Male	B
29	523.1	Neonate	?	B
30	524	5	?	B
31	525	Neonate	?	B
33A	527	Adult	?	D
33B	527	Adult	?	D
36	530	Foetus (27-35 weeks)	?	B
39	534	6 Months	?	B
41	536	35-50	Male	B
44	542	40-50	Female	B
45	543	50	Male	B
48	546	40	Female	B
49	547	40	Male	B
50	548	35-50	Male	B
51	549	35-40	Male	B
52	550	25-35	Female	B
58	556	35-40	Female	B
60	558	30	Female	B
61	559.1	20?	Female	B

Table 5.7: Burials with Coffin Hardware

Clothing Accessories

The clothing group consists of buttons, cuff links and an eyelet (*Figure 5.30*). This group only appears in eight of the graves, all of which were coffin burials except Burial 3, and all of which were Type B burials. A majority of the buttons are made of copper or brass, however there are a few silver buttons and one set of silver cuff links. Bone disc buttons also

appears in all the coffin graves, and as intrusions in some of the other graves.

In a couple of instances, the coffins and their hardware were well described in the field notes. The coffin containing Burial 13 had legs and well preserved sides. The coffin containing Burial 18 had handles at the head and the foot of the coffin. The handles were fixed into place rather than free swinging. There appears to have been a latch on the outside, and there may have been extra handles on the sides of the coffin. The coffin containing Burial 21 had handles at the head and at the left side of the coffin. The coffin containing Burial 23 had handles at the head and foot ends. The coffin containing Burial 60 had large quantities of iron on the coffin with "L" shaped brackets on the corners and metal strips on the sides. The coffin containing Burial 50 was painted white both inside and out. The coffin containing Burial 52 had green staining over large areas of the coffin wood, implying that there was either copper plating in the coffin, or that the coffin had been painted green on the inside. There was a large amount of iron holding the coffin wood together. These are the only reported cases of paint on the coffin wood, however others may have been painted as well. Unfortunately, the other coffin burials were too badly disturbed, or inadequately recorded, to say anything more substantive. For this reason it has not been possible to discern patterns of coffin style.

Additionally some coffin wood samples were collected. The coffin wood has been submitted to E. February at the South African Museum for analysis, however the results have not been received.

Burial	UCT	Age	Sex	Type
04	458.1	17-18	Female	B
05	461	20-30	Female	B
10	498	35-40	Female	B
11	499	40	Female	B
12	500	35-45	Male	B
13	501	30-40	Male	B
14A	502	45-55	Female	B
14B	503	Infant	?	B
15	504	25	Male	B
16	506	Neonate	?	B
17	507	Neonate	?	B
18	508	40-50	Female	B
20A	510	25-30	Male	B?
20B	511	16	Female	B?
20C	512	1.5-2	?	B?
21	514	25-35	Female	B
22	515	12-14	?	B
23	516	17-19	Female	B
26	519	50	Male	B
27	521	40-50	Male	B
29	523.1	Neonate	?	B
30	524	5	?	B
31	525	Neonate	?	B
33A	527	Adult	?	D
33B	527	Adult	?	D
36	530	Foetus (27-35 weeks)	?	B
39	534	6 Months	?	B
41	536	35-50	Male	B
44	542	40-50	Female	B
45	543	50	Male	B
48	546	40	Female	B
49	547	40	Male	B
50	548	35-50	Male	B
51	549	35-40	Male	B
52	550	25-35	Female	B
58	556	35-40	Female	B
60	558	30	Female	B
61	559.1	20?	Female	B

Table 5.7: Burials with Coffin Hardware

Clothing Accessories

The clothing group consists of buttons, cuff links and an eyelet (*Figure 5.30*). This group only appears in eight of the graves, all of which were coffin burials except Burial 3, and all of which were Type B burials. A majority of the buttons are made of copper or brass, however there are a few silver buttons and one set of silver cuff links. Bone disc buttons also



Figure 5.30: Cobern Street Buttons

appear in fairly large quantities, and are concentrated in Burials 27, 41 and 51. They are all similar in style. The silver buttons appear in Burials 27 and 52.

Burial 3 was a 20 year old man. Three copper or brass buttons were near the man's cranium. Although the buttons were collected with Burial 3, they may actually be associated with the arm of Burial 7, which overlapped with Burial 3.

Burial 27 was a 40 to 50 year old man. The bone disc buttons were found over the man's right shoulder, implying deliberate placement (*Figure 5.31*). Most of the other buttons were found on the man's right side, next to his upper arm and leg. The man's clothes may have been stuffed into the side of the coffin, thus accounting for the placement of the buttons. The silver buttons from Burial 27 were ordinary domed buttons, as were the silver cuff links that appeared in the same grave.

Burial 52 was a 25 to 35 year old woman. Several of the buttons interred with Burial 52 were found together near the right thigh and one button was found next to the head (*Figure 5.32*). The silver buttons from Burial 52 seem to be military buttons. They are flat discs with what may be the George Rex monogram ("GR" with a crown on top) engraved in the centre. What is interesting is that these "military" or "livery" buttons appear *in situ* in the grave of a woman. Burial 52 has several other more ornate buttons, including a domed copper button with a star engraving; a flat disc copper button with a mother of pearl inlay surrounded by a boarder of triangles; a flat disc copper or brass button with what appears to be a moulded heraldic horse surrounded by a "feathered" border; and several other copper or brass flat disc buttons, some of which were

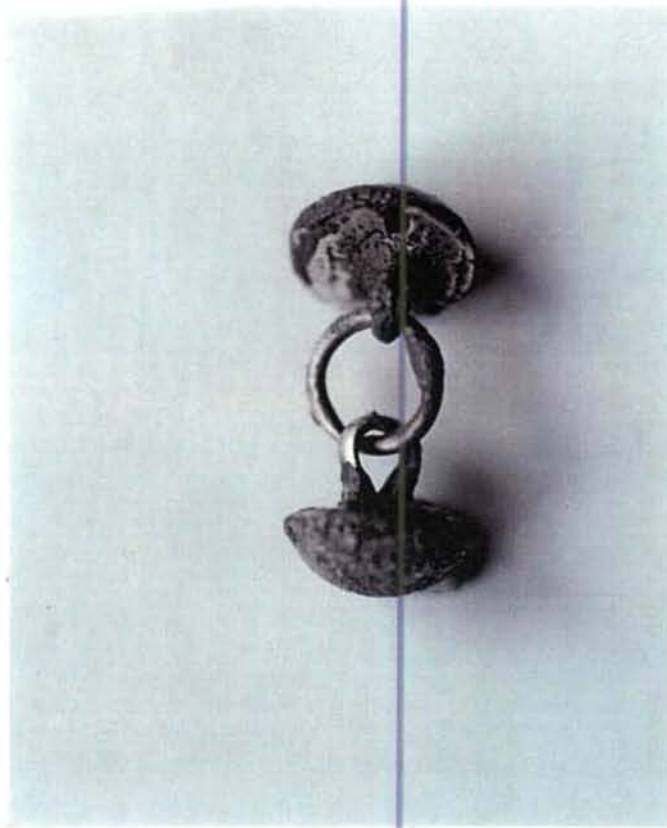


Figure 5.31: Buttons from Burial 27



Figure 5.32: Buttons from Burial 52

covered in fabric. Most of the buttons were found next to the left thigh, and one was next to the head. A chunk of fabric, that may have been part of a pair of leather pants, was also next to the thigh.

Most of the other buttons recovered at Cobern Street were ordinary disc or domed buttons of brass or copper, some with traces of fabric or paint, but otherwise they are unremarkable. With the exception of the three cases previously noted, the location of buttons in relation to the burial was not recorded. As such, the buttons could represent clothing, or they could have been used as ornamentation (for example, strung together like beads). Attempts to further identify the buttons have been unsuccessful, making it extremely difficult to speculate about the clothing styles represented at the site.

Burial	UCT	Age	Sex	Type	Artefacts
03	460	20	Male	B	Copper/Brass Button
11	499	40	Female	B	Copper Buttons
12	500	35-45	Male	B	Copper Buttons
15	504	25	Male	B	Copper/Brass Buttons; Copper Cuff link
27	521	40-50	Male	B	Copper Buttons; Silver Buttons; Bone Disc Buttons; Silver Cuff Links
41	536	35-50	Male	B	Copper/Brass Buttons; Bone Button Discs
51	549	35-40	Male	B	Bone Button Discs
52	550	25-35	Female	B	Copper/Brass Buttons; Silver Buttons
61	559.1	20?	Female	B	Copper Buttons

Table 5.8: Burials with Clothing Items

Burial Items

The group referred to as "Burial Items" consists solely of copper shroud pins and a few pieces of fabric. These appear in nine graves, all of which were clearly coffin burials.

Burial	UCT	Age	Sex	Type
13	501	30-40	Male	B
18	508	40-50	Female	B
27	521	40-50	Male	B
31	525	Neonate	?	B
36	530	Foetus (27-35 weeks)	?	B
39	534	6 Months	?	B
48	546	40	Female	B
49	547	40	Male	B
58	556	35-40	Female	B

Table 5.9: Burials with Burial Items

Personal (excluding artefacts associated with clothing)

Personal items are the most varied artefact type and occur in eleven graves. These are all Type B graves, and they are all coffin burials except for Burials 36 and 54. Five of the burials were of women, five were men, and one contained a foetus, additionally Burial 14B was an infant.

Burial	UCT	Age	Sex	Type	Artefacts
14A	502	45-55	Female	B	Snapped Cane and rounded Beads
14B	503	Infant	?	B	Pipe Stem
18	508	40-50	Female	B	Tobacco Pipe
21	514	25-35	Female	B	Cane Tube Beads
27	521	40-50	Male	B	Razor Blade, Glass Beads
36	530	Foetus (27-35 weeks)	?	B	Brass Thimble
41	536	35-50	Male	B	Iron Razor Blade; Tobacco Pipe; Tobacco Plug; Tinderbox; Hints; Striker; Link Chain; Wire Circlet with Fabric; Metal Disc
49	547	40	Male	B	Tobacco Pipe; Tinderbox; Striker; Flint
51	549	35-40	Male	B	Earthenware Sherd Pendant
52	550	25-35	Female	B	Tobacco Pipe Bowl; Flint; Iron Penknife
54	552	30-35	Male	B	Tobacco Pipe Stem; Bone Handle Knife;
61	559.1	20?	Female	B	Silver Snuff Box; Silver Needle Case;

Table 5.10: Burials with Personal Items

Sixteen snapped cane glass beads of various colours were placed around the neck of Burial 14, a woman of 45 to 55 years of age (*Figure 5.33*). Six of the beads were yellow, four were red, four were blue, one was



Figure 5.33: Snapped Cane Beads from Burial 14A

green, and one was yellow with red and green stripes. They ranged from 7mm to 17mm in length. There were two red snapped cane beads (7mm and 9mm long) with grey to black stripes associated with Burial 21. Fifty-seven beads were recovered with Burial 27, a man of 40 to 50 years of age (*Figure 5.34*). The beads were found next to the man's left arm, among a cluster of buttons. Twenty-four of the beads are round, and small to medium in size and black in colour (2mm to 4mm long). An additional thirty are round, small to medium in size, and are white (2mm to 6mm long). There was one round red bead (6mm long), one square to round black bead with red stripes (5mm long), and one blue, tube shaped bead with red and white stripes (17mm long). Attempts to identify the sources of the beads have been unsuccessful (S. Saitowitz, personal communication), and without tighter archaeological control, it would be difficult to speculate how, exactly, they were used.

Burial 51, a 35 to 40 year old man, had a perforated earthenware sherd glazed on one side in his grave. The sherd was found below the chin and could have been a pendant.

Burial 18, a 40 to 50 year old woman, was interred with a complete tobacco pipe placed on the right side of her head (*Figure 5.35*). The pipe has the *man op de sjess* mark on the heel base, and the letters *I/OVERE IN GOUDA* as part of the bowl band decoration. As such, the pipe has been dated to between 1727 and 1791 (Graf 1995; Duco 1982). This is, to date, the longest complete and unbroken pipe stem excavated in the Cape Town area. Burial 14A was buried with an infant (14B) who was associated with a clay pipe stem, however it is not clear if the stem was an intentional inclusion or intrusive. Burial 41 was buried with a pipe along with other smoking paraphernalia including a brass tinderbox,

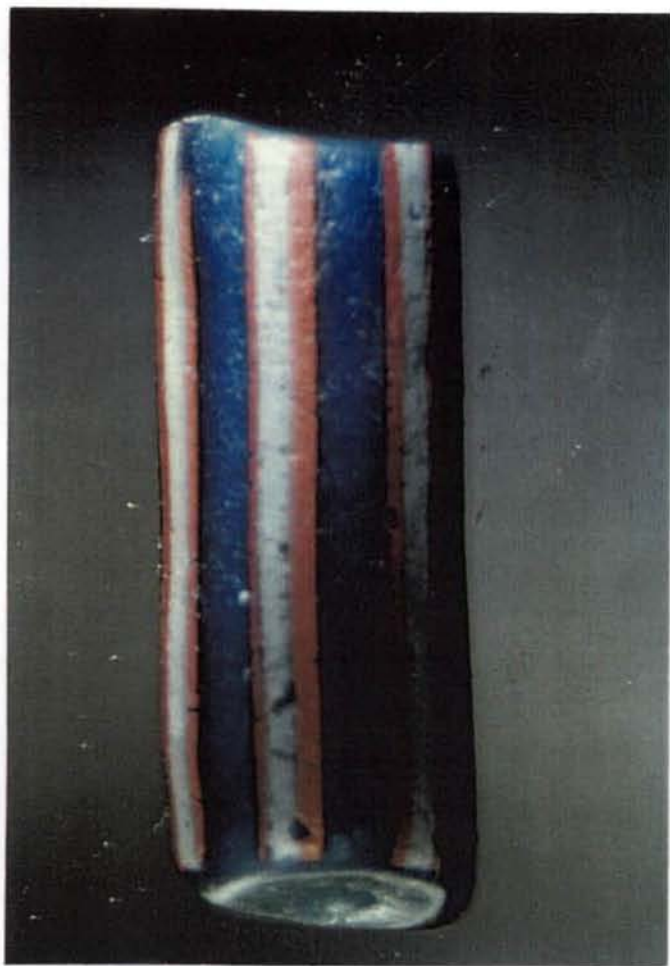


Figure 5.34: Beads from Burial 27

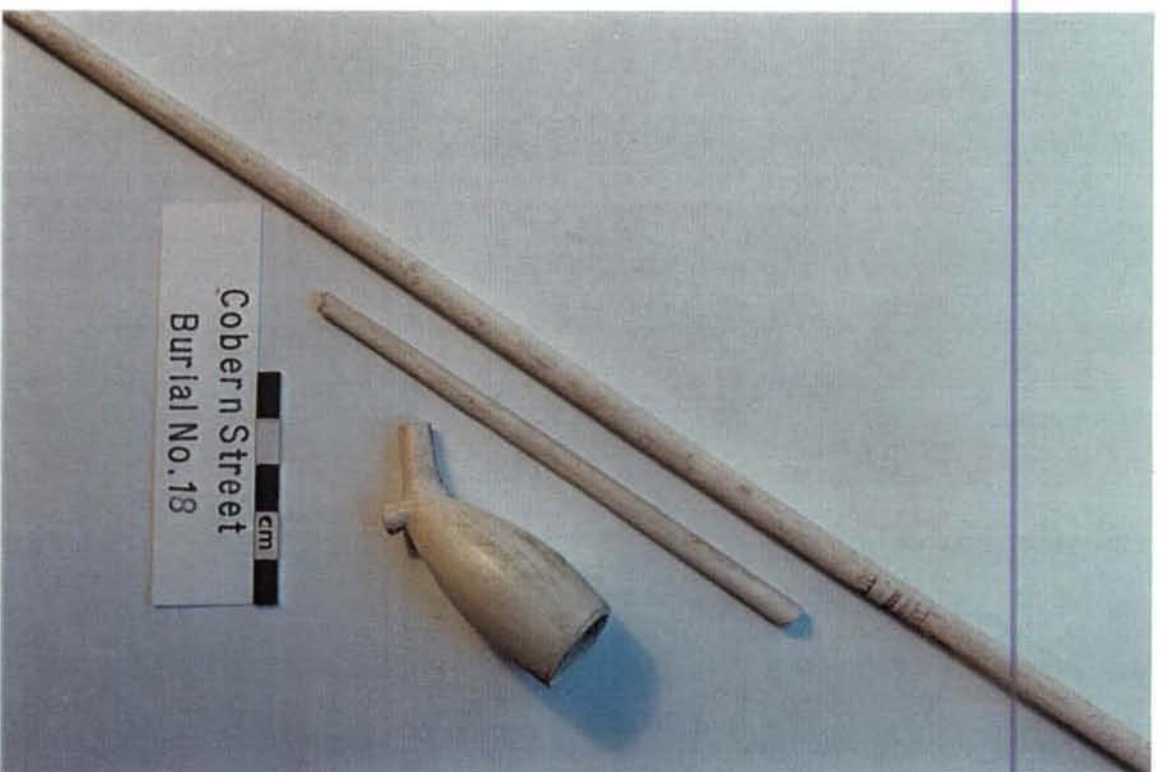


Figure 5.35: Cobern Street Pipes

two grey flints an iron striker, and a plug of tobacco. The pipe bowl has *17 gekroond* on the heel base, which dates between 1727 and 1843 (Graf 1995; Duco 1982). Burial 52 was interred with a pipe bowl with 'LS' *ongekroond* at base of the heel, which has been assigned a date range of 1727 to 1824 (Graf 1995; Duco 1982). These are all Dutch pipes. Burial 49 (a 40 year old man with dental modifications), however, had an English pipe dating between 1748 and 1770 placed next to his head (Graf 1995; Oswald 1975) (*Figure 5.36*). There was a heart on the heel and 'TD' on the bowl. As with Burial 41, the pipe was accompanied by a copper or brass tinderbox, iron striker and a grey flint. The pipe was placed over the man's right shoulder and the tinderbox over his left shoulder.

Clay tobacco pipes were commonly used until the end of the nineteenth century. As such, they are useful temporal markers because of stylistic changes through time, and because they were so delicate they were only used for short periods before disposal. Dates have been determined based on maker's marks, as the sample is too small to calculate a mean date (Graf 1995). However, the pipes do provide a general date range for the site. The earliest possible date for the pipes is 1727 and the latest date is 1843, implying that these graves, at least, were interred during this time period.

Additionally there were several miscellaneous inclusions that fit into this category. Burial 61, a woman of around 20 years of age, was buried with a silver needle or bodkin case, and snuffbox, both with ornate, leaf-like embossing (Rogers 1983; Economu *nd*). The needle case was conical in shape and the lid was etched with illegible initials or marks. The snuffbox



Figure 5.36: Pipe and Smoking Paraphernalia

outline was ovoid with a scalloped edge, and was engraved with “MHK 1764” (*Figure 5.37*). Both were placed on the woman’s right shoulder.

Other unusual grave goods found in direct association with burials include “cut-throat” razor blades associated with Burial 27 (a 40 to 50 year old man) and Burial 41 (a 35 to 40 year old man). The razor recovered with Burial 27 was found on the right side of the body, next to the pelvis.

A penknife was associated with Burial 52 (a 25 to 35 year old woman). A bone handle and the knife were found next to the head of Burial 54 (a 30 to 35 year old man). (*Figure 5.38*)

Additionally a brass thimble was found with Burial 36 (a foetus) (*Figure 5.38*).

Burial 3, a 20 year old man, was interred with an iron shackle with two loops fused to it around his left ankle (*Figure 5.39*). This has been classified as “other” as it bore no relation to the interment process and was not a grave good in the sense that the “personal” items are. In colonial Cape Town, one ended up in bondage *via* slavery or as a punishment for a crime. The fact that the shackle was not removed was an oversight, which seems to indicate that the man was buried by his captors rather than kin. However, it is still rather surprising that the shackle was not removed, as burying it with the body represents an unnecessary expense. Under Dutch law, criminals convicted of crimes perceived to be exceptionally gruesome or abhorrent were not only executed, but sometimes the corpse was symbolically punished as well (Schama 1991). This is one possible explanation for the presence of the



Figure 5.37: Snuff Box and Needle Case from Burial 61

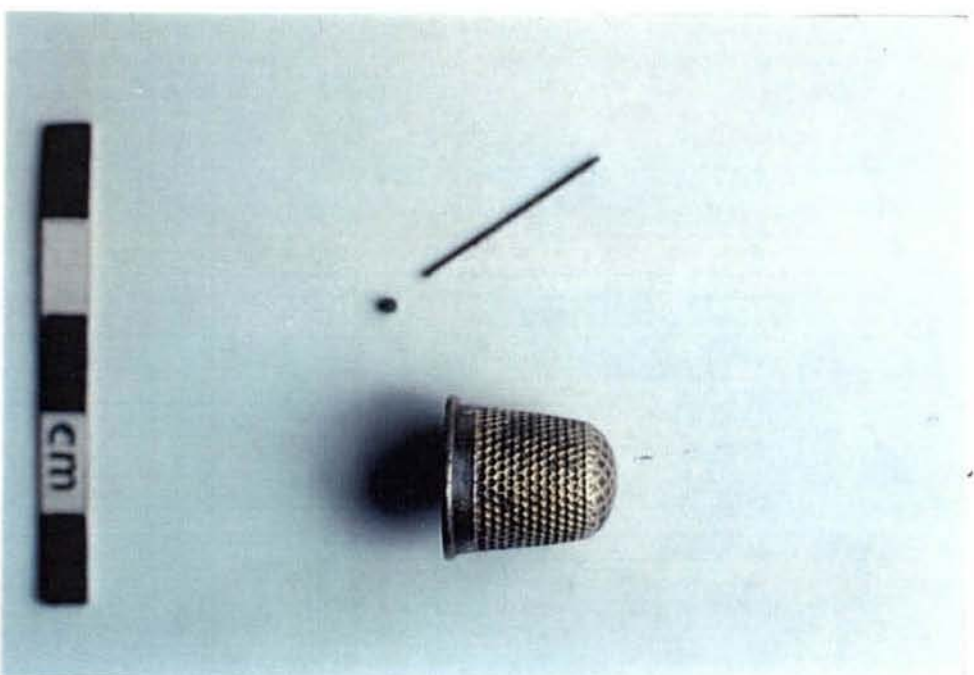


Figure 5.38: Cobern Street Personal Items

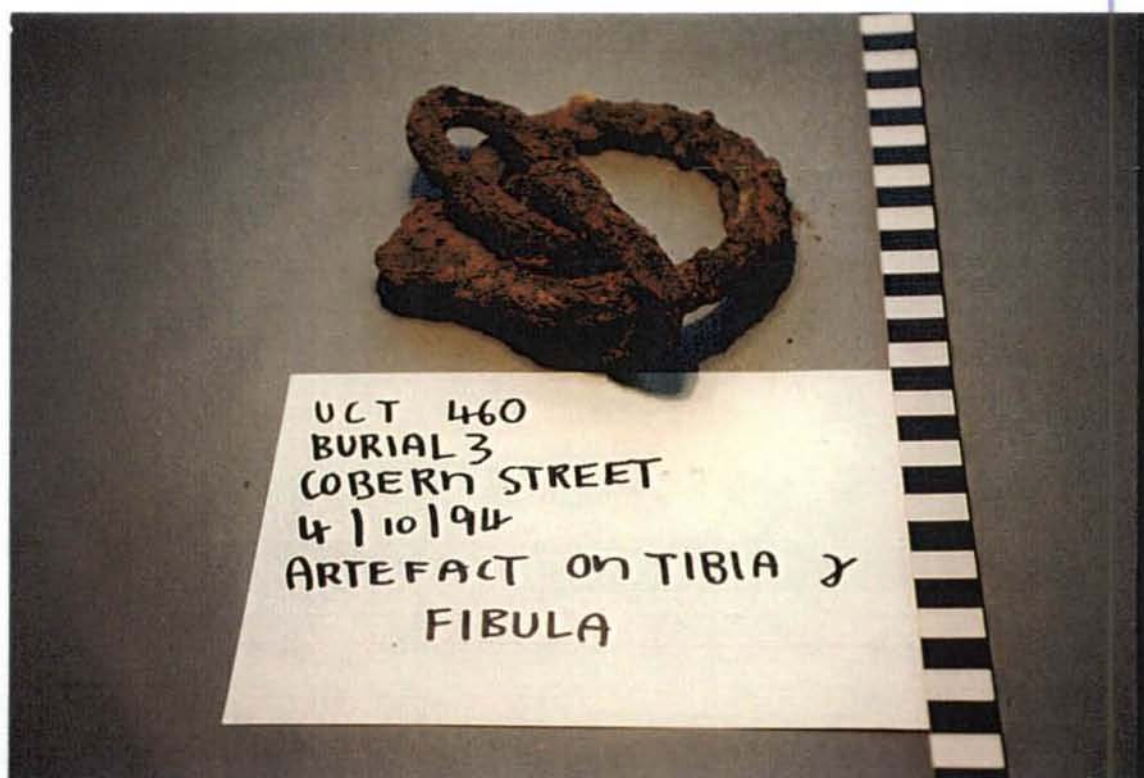


Figure 5.39: Shackle from Burial 3

shackle, however the examination of the skeletal remains showed no pre or post-mortem markers, which might indicate execution or dismemberment (Holtzhausen & Slater 1997).

Intrusive:

Nineteen of the graves had some sort of intrusive artefacts. These occur in all except the Type A burials. Intrusions appear to occur in a random distribution, as they are scattered across the site and are found in the very shallow as well as the relatively deep graves. Most items are some form of coffin hardware, however there are also earthenware sherds, glass fragments, a pipe stem, a musket ball, and a shovel blade. These serve to indicate that the site had been intensively disturbed as successive burials occurred.

Burial	UCT	Age	Sex	Type	Artefacts
18	508	40-50	Female	B	Shell Fragments
20A	510	25-30	Male	B?	Stone Cobbles
20B	511	16	Female	B?	"
20C	512	1.5-2	?	B?	"
24	517	20-25	Male	D	Iron Coffin Strap
25	518	35-40	Male	D	"
27	521	40-50	Male	B	Bone Fragment; Coarse Porcelain Sherd
28	522	50	Female	B	Iron Coffin Nail
30	524	5	?	B	Shells
32	526	50-60	Male	C	Khoikhoi Pot Sherd
39	534	6 Months	?	B	Shell
44	542	40-50	Female	B	Iron Nails; Irons Coffin Straps; Iron Coffin Corner
49	547	40	Male	B	Iron Nails; Loop or Bent Iron Nail
52	550	25-35	Female	B	"
54	552	30-35	Male	B	Iron Shovel Blade; Tobacco Pipe Stem Fragment; Musket Ball
55	553	Child	?	B	Coarse Indigenous Earthenware Sherd
57	555	20-30	Female	C	Iron Nails; Iron Coffin Strap
61	559.1	20?	Female	B	Shells
62	560	5-6	?	?	Glass Bottle Base Fragment
65	563	22-25	Female	C	Coarse Earthenware Sherd

Table 5.11: Burials with Intrusive Items

Surface Scatter

The site surface and upper layers of deposit revealed a collection of artefacts dating to the nineteenth century. Items included coffin hardware, transfer printed refined earthenware, Asian porcelain, glass bottle fragments, pipe stems, glass and alabaster marbles, musket balls, shells, a George III coin (1797), a coin dated 1900, a few non-diagnostic pieces of human bone, and a large non-human faunal sample. The faunal collection consists primarily of domestic animals, predominantly sheep. Many show evidence of butchering, and/or rodent gnawing (Avery & Morris 1997). The surface collection can be attributed to several factors. Some of the items are certainly a result of grave disturbance. The faunal collection and many of the early nineteenth century artefacts probably relate to the unofficial use of the land before the nineteenth century terrace houses were constructed, or could also have been associated with these dwellings.

The purpose of this chapter was to provide a detailed description of the burial styles and artefacts recovered during the Cobern Street excavation. Four burial patterns, representing three interment styles were identified. Additionally six artefact groups, and their relationship to the graves were discussed. The patterns of dental modification were described, and the spatial layout of the site considered. The following chapter will discuss the meaning and offer a number of alternative explanations for what was observed here. Although the artefacts have been useful in determining date ranges and rough cultural affiliations for the graves, it is not possible to draw direct correlations between an artefact and a specific cultural identity.

Chapter 6 : Discussion

The Somerset Road Burial Grounds

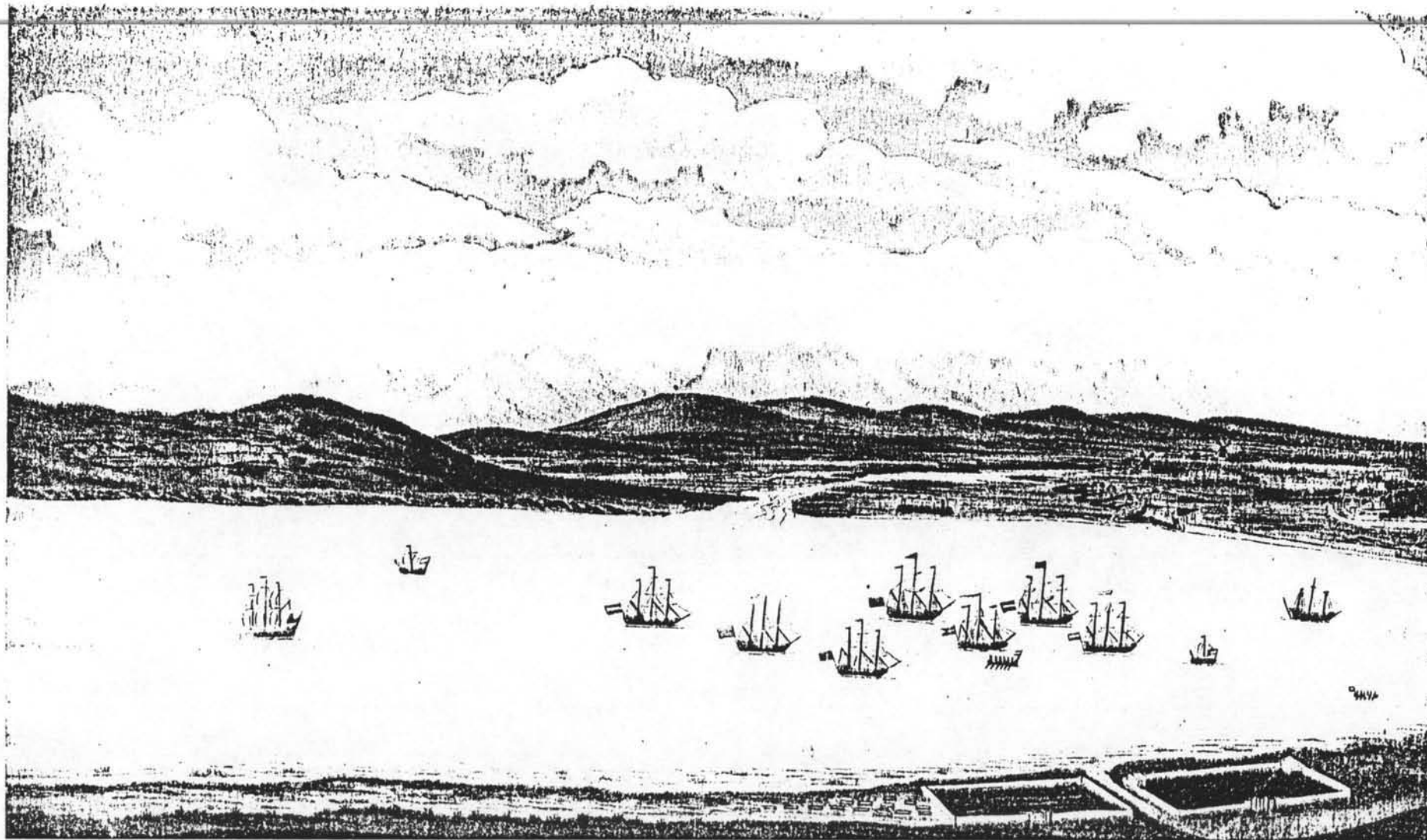
The very first burials of non-aboriginal peoples at the Cape colony that we know of took place on the Grand Parade, outside and beneath the walls of the Fort de Goede Hoop before 1674 (Abrahams-Willis & Fourshé 1995; Abrahams 1993). In 1677, a resolution was passed to prevent burials in this area (Abrahams 1985). In the early years of the colony, wealthy free burghers and leading VOC officials had been buried in vaults or under the floor of the Groote Kerk (the Dutch Reformed Church), and lesser citizens were buried outside in the churchyard in the area which extends into modern day Church Square (Langham-Carter 1973). Over two thousand people died in 1755 as a result of a smallpox epidemic, causing the Groote Kerk cemetery to overflow, and creating the need for additional burial grounds. The Dutch Reformed Church established a cemetery, the *Burgher Kerkhof* (Burgher Cemetery) on the land between Buitengracht and the *Soldaten Kerkhof* (Langham-Carter 1973; Hopkins 1966). The cemetery was used until 1766.

The area stretching north-westward from Buitengracht to Green Point Common, was designated as the final resting place for the inhabitants of colonial Cape Town. The cemeteries which resulted in the area were oriented along Somerset Road, stretching away from town, and as a

result they are often referred to as the Somerset Road Burial Grounds. Military personnel and executed prisoners were buried in the Somerset Road area at the *Soldaten Kerkhof* (Soldiers Cemetery). A slave burial ground was reported to have existed outside Chavonnes Battery, a structure built mainly as a prison in 1715 (Bickford-Smith 1994).

Both the Burgher Kerkhof and the Soldaten Kerkhof are depicted on several panoramas as having walled enclosings (Tringham circa 1763; Schumacher circa 1776; and Gordon circa 1790) (*Figures 6.1-6.2*). Outside the formal cemetery walls, additional grave markers appear, which Gordon identifies as *slaaven begraafplaats* (AR TOPO 120F; AR TOPO 1585) (*Figure 6.3*). These were located in the area of the present day Cobern Street site. This is extremely important in both dating and identifying who used the Cobern Street site.

During the early nineteenth century other denominations in Cape Town were permitted to establish congregations, and their burial grounds began to appear along Somerset Road. The South African Missionary Society burial ground became the first official place for interments of “slaves and heathens” when it was established in 1818 (Hart & Halkett 1996b). The military graveyard was divided between Old Somerset Hospital and the Catholic Church. The hospital used their share of the plot for the burial of patients, mostly seamen from passing ships, and the Catholic Church used the site for members of their congregation. The Muslim cemetery of Tana Baru, used by the emancipated slave community, was established up on the hillside behind the Bo-Kaap (Armstrong 1997; Davids 1984; Langham-Carter 1974; Hopkins 1966; CA: RDG 91, 1826, CO 625 Letters 63, 1853). In 1827, the English Church of St. George’s was granted land north-west of the military burial ground for a cemetery, and



**Figure 6.1: Schumacher Panorama Showing the Colonial Burial
Grounds from Signal Hill circa 1776 (after Hallema 1961)**

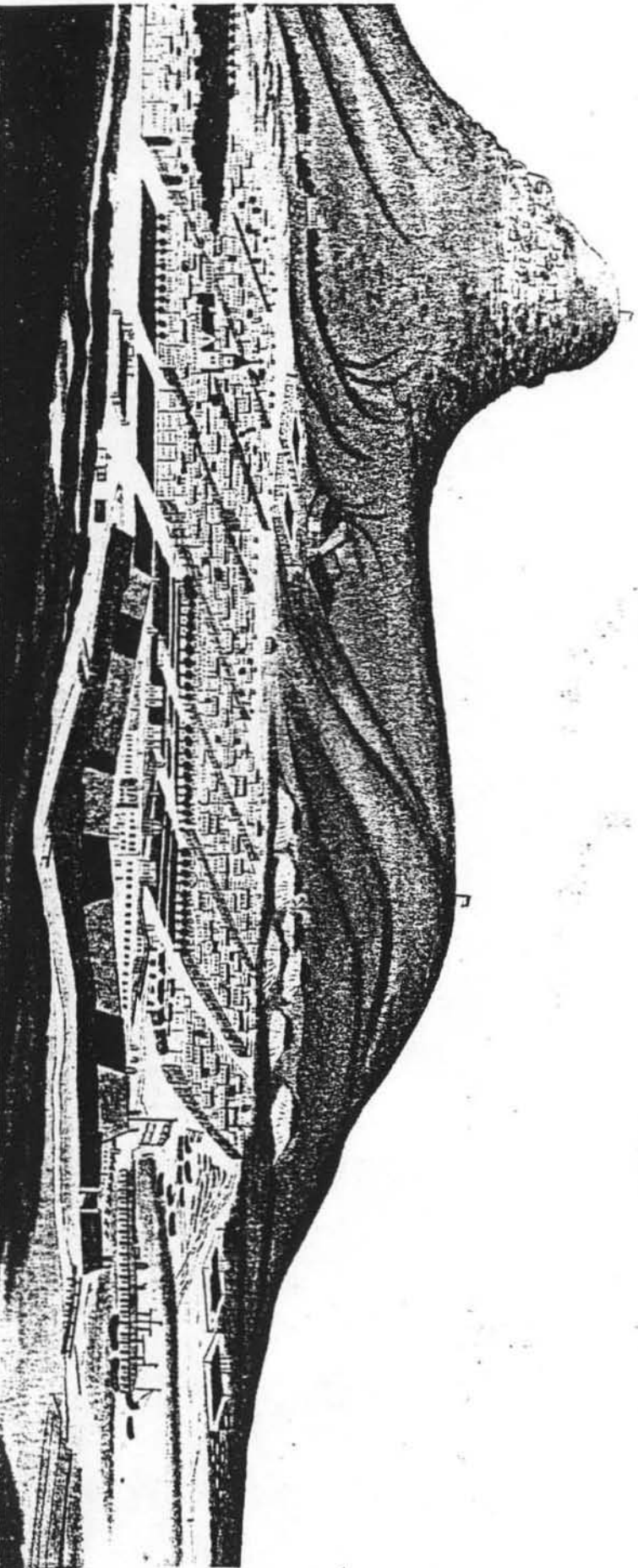


Figure 6.2: Schumacher Panorama Showing the Colonial Burial Grounds from across Table Bay (after Hallema 1961)

it was first used on 24 March 1834. The Scottish church of St. Andrews established a cemetery at roughly the same time. The Lutherans were granted land next to old Somerset Hospital and west of Amsterdam Battery on 15 March 1833. The burial place for Chinese “banished to the Cape”, and a burial ground for slaves was said to be “on the west side facing the Bay and near to the big battery” (Mentzel 1921:128). It is presumed that Mentzel was referring to Amsterdam Battery. The slave burial ground, also known as the Mozambique ground, was also used for free people not belonging to the Christian or Muslim faiths. Executed convicts were buried on the eastern slope of Gallows Hill, north-west of Ebenezer Road (Langham-Carter 1973).

With the exception of the Gordon Panorama, the Cobern Street burial ground does not appear on any of the official maps or plans of the period. The site became the property of Mr G.H. Meyer and was prepared for development in 1827 (c.f.: Greig’s Plan 1832, ASL: ca 1825; DO: Grant, vol 1 .no79, 2.2.1827; diag 15/1827 with T30, 1827). Meyer’s estate was subdivided again in 1846 (DO: T78ff, 24.11.1846), and in 1862 the first buildings, a row of terraced houses, appear on the Snow Survey.

The fact that the Cobern Street property was transferred to Mr. Meyer implies that it was no longer being used as a place of burial. It is unlikely that interments would continue to take place on land flagged for development. This provides us with a termination date of 1827 or earlier. The burial ground was certainly in use by 1790, but probably at least as early as 1755, when the Burgher Kerkhof was established, as the Gordon and Schumacher panoramas illustrate both cemeteries, and show the relationship of the graves to the wall of the Burgher Kerkhof.

Eighteenth century Cape Town had been delineated by three streets, Buitenkant, Buitensingel and Buitengracht, but in the early nineteenth century pressure for more land began to push the boundaries outward. As early as 1825, areas along Somerset Road had been designated for warehouses and dwellings (Hopkins 1966).

By 1858, the formal Somerset Road cemeteries are described as full or overflowing, neglected, and unsanitary. Many of the walls were crumbling and the vaults collapsing, and the graveyards were littered with gin bottles. None the less, an additional 1,843 interments took place between 1867 and 1869 (Langham-Carter 1973). In 1875 a Select Committee of the House of Assembly was appointed to investigate the issue of cemetery closure in Cape Town (Bickford-Smith 1995; Davids 1984; Langham-Carter 1973). In 1882 it was decided to establish a cemetery in Maitland, and blocks were issued to the various denominations by the Cape Town Burial Board. Maitland cemetery opened on 15 January 1886, the last day for legal burials at Somerset Road (Langham-Carter 1973).

In 1900 Gallows Hill was levelled and the burials moved to Maitland. With the passing of the Disused Cemeteries Act in 1906, any cemeteries that had not already been exhumed were also removed to Maitland (Langham-Carter 1973). This, however, does not seem to have included the Cobern Street cemetery as it had been long forgotten, and structures now existed over the site. Throughout the twentieth century, the land once used for cemeteries was redeveloped.

The lack of archival material documenting interment in the Cobern Street burial ground has led to a number of questions concerning who the

burials represent. It has already been established that the site was outside the official cemetery areas, and, as such would have been utilised by people who would not have had access to the official colonial burial grounds. Several groups of people would have fitted into this category: slaves, free-blacks, convicts, heretics, and transient soldiers and sailors passing through the colony. These could include people of Asian, East African, Khoisan, or mixed origins (i.e. those of not only pure European ancestry). Equally, space may not have been available in the official cemeteries for smallpox victims who had to be buried almost immediately following death.

Burial Patterns and Grave Goods

Type B Burials

Eighteenth century social customs and rituals at the Cape are discussed in a number of traveller's accounts (c.f.: Champion 1968; Mentzel 1925, 1921; Botha 1962; Thunberg 1986). These include matters surrounding death, however they focus on funeral rites with little mention of actual interment patterns. These accounts tend to focus on the elite social circles of the free burghers and high ranking VOC officials. Occasionally they include a cursory mention of the lower classes, "Hottentots" or slaves, however, these are written from an outsiders perspective, making their accuracy questionable. It is unlikely that any of the authors spent much time among the "lower classes."

According to Mentzel (1924), a fee of 50 Cape gulden was charged for a churchyard burial plot, which was doubled for foreigners who died aboard ship and were laid to rest at the Cape. A second cemetery existed for those who could not afford to pay the fee (Mentzel 1924). This

would have included low ranking soldiers and sailors passing through the Cape, slaves, some freeblacks and transient Khoisan labourers. The corpses of soldiers and sailors who died while in the hospital (Old Somerset Hospital) were generally sewed up in cloth, or, if some money was available, provided with an inexpensive coffin (Forbes 1986). It is quite likely that this held true for other groups without economic means.

In 1715, Adolf Burgers, a grave digger, complained that many burghers were burying their slaves themselves and that the consequence was that the slaves were often hastily buried in a slovenly manner. The graves were made too shallow, resulting in bodies becoming exposed after burial (Leibbrandt 1896). The disturbed nature of many of the graves, and the fact that they often transect each other, could have been caused by such practices. Further, if a slave owner would not pay a grave digger, it is unlikely they would have gone to the expense of providing grave markers, contributing to the haphazard nature of interments at the site.

The norm at Cobern Street is a very basic set of graves. Interment styles are fairly uniform. Most individuals are buried extended on their backs, their heads pointing South-west towards Signal Hill, with or without a coffin, but with no other trappings of status, class or religion. In fact, it is not possible to discuss a temporal dimension to the burial patterns, as it is impossible to assign more than a broad date range to most of the burials. In this sense, they are most unremarkable.

Traditionally, Euro-Christian burials were oriented on an East-West axis, with the head to the West so that the deceased could sit up to face the rising sun on Judgement Day (February 1995; Harrington 1993; Parrington 1987). Although Signal Hill is not due West from the site (it

is actually South-west), it may represent a cultural or perceived West. As an imposing and permanent landmark, visible from the site, it would have been a constant beacon from which graves could be laid out. This burial pattern is consistent with mortuary practices observed at the eighteenth century African Burial Ground in New York City. At the New York cemetery almost all of the 427 burials exhumed were interred in wooden coffins, on a East-West axis, extended on the back with arms at the sides or folded over the pelvis (M. Blakey, personal communication; Epperson 1996).

Much like Cobern Street, the New York City burial ground disappeared and was forgotten beneath nineteenth century urban expansion, only to be rediscovered in the early 1990's. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, "the black cemetery remained intact because its presence was ignored once burials were discontinued" (Parrington 1987:64). This is very much the case with Cobern Street as well. As lower class members of the community, the individuals buried at Cobern Street would have been easily forgotten.

Contrary to what would be expected of a set of graves containing primarily slaves or other poor and lower class citizens, nearly all of the Type B Cobern Street burials (79.5%), including a premature baby (Burial 36) and several infants and neonates (Burials 14B, 16, 17, 29, 31, 36, and 39) are in coffins. Coupled with some of the artefacts that appear in the graves, this might suggest a more affluent community. However even individuals who were almost certainly slaves were buried in coffins. For example, all except one individual with dental modifications (Burial 40, an unsexable 12 year old) were buried in coffins. It may simply be

that, despite documentation to the contrary, this was a standard practice of the day.

Although the overall burial pattern at Cobern Street is fairly conventional, it is the exceptions, and what little we know about the site history that make the Cobern Street graves unique. We know that they could be slaves, or individuals of analogous social position; sailors, Khoisan labourers, the bottom of the social pile, all victims of European global expansion. This is confirmed by the representation of what is presumably the Cobern Street site on the Schumacher panorama (Hallema 1951). The illustration shows two neatly laid out graveyards with high walls and gated entrances. Next to them, and further away from town, are a cluster of randomly placed grave markers without any apparent boundaries, symbolically and structurally isolated from the 'respectable' burghers of the community (*Figures 6.1-6.2*). Status is ordered in death as it was in life. The "undesirables" are kept far away from the living, and physically separated from the earthly remains of their betters. It could have been immediately apparent to those passing by that a division or separation had taken place.

Further evidence of the lower-class origins of the individuals buried at Cobern Street is that there are six individuals with filed teeth. The filing patterns represented are known from ethnographic records to be used by groups from in Malawi, Tanzania and Mozambique (Cox 1995). Additionally dental modification was not known to be practised at the Cape, implying that these individuals were born elsewhere and brought to the Cape in their adolescence or adulthood, as filing would have taken place at puberty (Cox 1995). Approximately twenty six percent of the slaves imported to the Cape originated from Eastern Africa, most of

whom were brought to the colony between 1777 and 1801 (Shell 1994). Smaller numbers of slaves were imported from Madagascar, India and Indonesia during the same time period. This coincides neatly with the estimated date range for the Cobern Street site (no later than 1755 to about 1827, or somewhat earlier, when the land was prepared for development). Burials 20A and 20B (a man in his late twenties and a woman of about 16 years of age, interred with a young child) were recent arrivals at the Cape, and may have died aboard ship, or just after arrival. The evidence for them being recent arrivals is the maxillary abscess caused by the dental modification on Burial 20B. Dental modification was not practised at the Cape, and the infection was no more than six months old (Morris & Phillips 1997).

Variability in grave goods or interment style does not seem to occur on the basis of age or gender. A few graves containing large quantities of grave goods and two burials with multiple interments are the only exception to a fairly consistent mortuary pattern. However, it is these anomalies that allow us to speculate about cultural beliefs and practices, and to distinguish Cobern Street from other burial grounds.

Archaeology uses the material traces of past human activity to connect with those that are gone. Artefacts are the direct expressions of belief and behaviour. In some ways, burial practices and burial goods are the most poignant visible markers of the past, "... burial remains and associated artifacts are direct, and conscious manifestations of ideological beliefs and practices and can potentially provide more explicit information about the cultural standards of the society being studied." (Parrington 1987:57). Grave goods may have been included for several reasons. It is

generally assumed that objects included in graves were associated with, or used by the deceased while alive (Handler 1997; Smirnov 1996).

Variation in an individual grave, such as the inclusion of grave goods, may indicate a special regard or status of the individual, whether that be positive or negative (Handler 1996). What should we make of this variation, which is not, in fact, variation but rather atypical occurrences? Do these material traces speak to us of status differences, or do these possessions portray something that did not actually exist (i.e. elevated status)? Grave goods may represent a social position *aspired to*, but not actually achieved in life. These 'small things forgotten' which have made their way into individual graves may speak to desires for a better life. Because we know so little about the lives of Cape slaves archaeologically, it is difficult to know what possessions they (or others in comparable social positions) might have been able to acquire during their lifetime. Therefore, it is difficult to know who the material remains at the site might have belonged to. A pair of silver cuff links, or an ornate silver snuffbox, such as the one that appears in Burial 61, seems to be the domain of a high status individual. However, it could be the sole and treasured item of an otherwise destitute person, acquired through barter, theft, or a gift from master to servant for a lifetime of dedicated (and possibly enforced) service. Perhaps it was the only obtainable connection to a more desirable lifestyle of ease and leisure, a way to distinguish one's self from others of an equally downtrodden existence?

Surely sentiment plays a key role in the lying to rest of the dead. Unusual artefacts accompanying the deceased may be a gesture on the part of the living; an attempt to reach out to or engage with the deceased, a final gift from those left behind. A snuff box or silver needle case could be a

tribute of remembrance of shared activities, or behaviour fondly associated with the deceased. A tobacco pipe and smoking paraphernalia may have been included in a grave because they constantly accompanied a person while alive (*Figures 6.4-6.5*). These displays may have far more prosaic reasons, such as sentiment and loss, than status or formal religious practices. They may bear little relevance to anything other than the grief of family or friends. If this is the appropriate explanation for artefacts appearing in the graves, it is likely that these individuals were laid to rest by family or friends, rather than their masters, hospital officials, or the colonial authorities.

If the interments were a result of one of the many eighteenth and nineteenth century smallpox epidemics, the body would have been interred hastily. "The dead were specifically buried in the clothes in which they died, if possible within twenty-four hours, but slaves absolutely within that period" (Laidler & Gelfand 1971:55). This could easily result in small items such as a penknife or razor blade, left in a pocket, making their way into the grave. As these individuals were of lower classes, and therefore considered less sanitary and more of a health threat than the wealthy, little if any effort would have been made to sort through the clothing and bodily possessions of the deceased, whose corpses were sent to the grave as quickly as possible.

Ultimately, we cannot say with certainty what these "special" artefacts mean, or why they were placed into a grave. A set of silver cufflinks, a snuff box or needle case may have been one of many owned, or the only one possessed and therefore special to the deceased or those around them. Grave goods may speak to the archaeologist of an overly hasty interment; status, whether real or aspired; formal religious practices, or



Figure 6.4: Hendrik Cloete with Slave and Pipe about 1799 (after Schutte 1981)



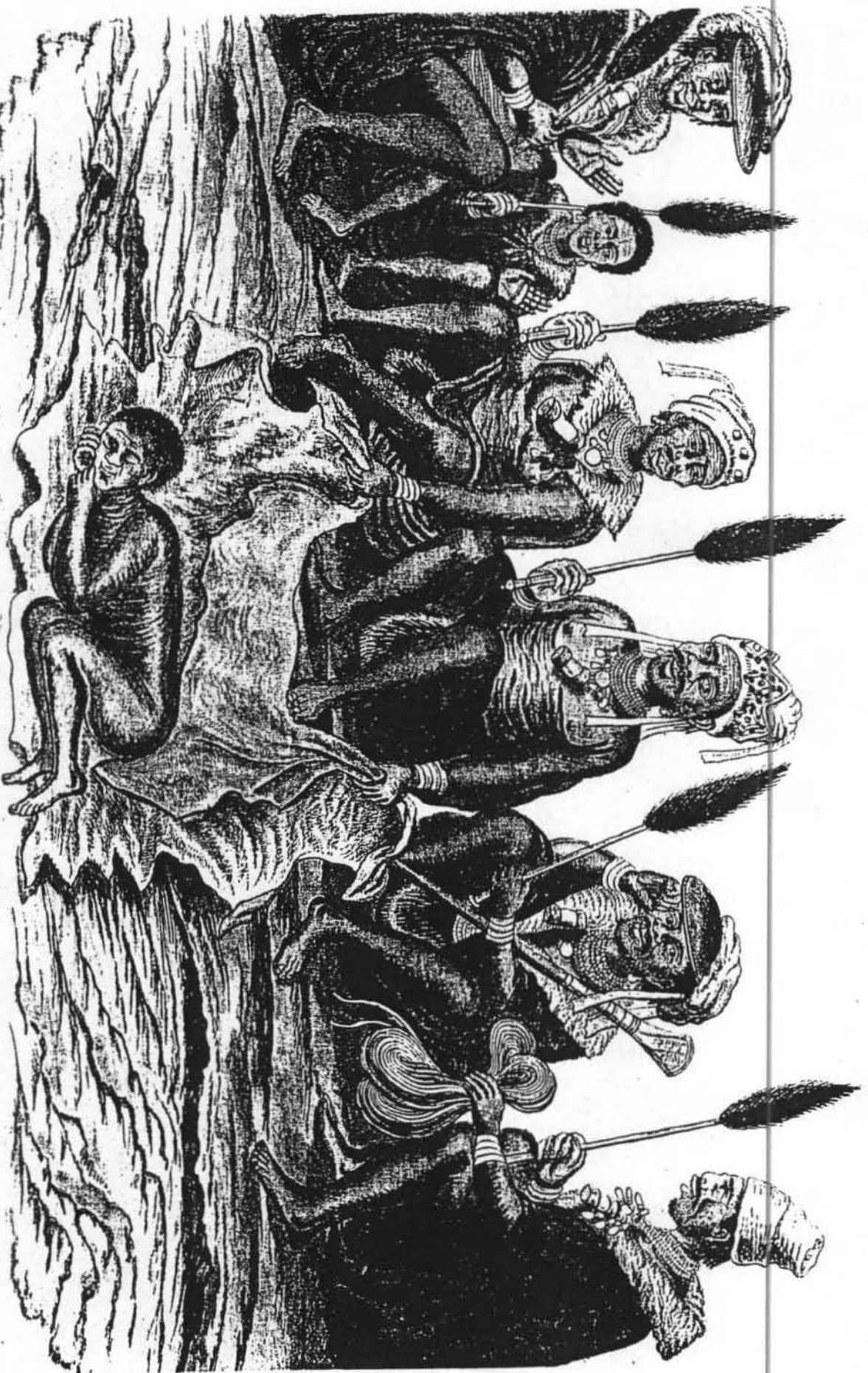
Figure 6.5: "Hottentot Lighting Pipe" (by J. White c. 1845. Museum Africa, Johannesburg)

sentiment and grief. Finally, the explanation may lie with some as yet undetermined or overlooked factor relevant to a culture we cannot know first hand, but only observe through scant material traces.

Types A & Type C Burials

In attempting to understand the mortuary practices exhibited at Cobern Street, we must look at traditional South African burial patterns as well as established Euro-Christian practices. In *The Skeletons of Contact*, Morris identifies three basic burial styles for South African indigenous peoples as seen in the archaeological and ethnographic record (Morris 1992a). The Cape pastoralists (Khoikhoi) usually buried their dead in a vertically flexed position, with no grave goods, frequently with a niche and often a large, elaborate cairn (*Figure 6.6*). Burials of Bantu-speaking peoples were often niche burials with low cairns and abundant grave goods, but there is much variety archaeologically. Hunter-gatherer style graves included grave goods but rarely did they have niches or large cairns. Aspects of these grave styles can be seen among some of the Cobern Street burials. The early date and associated artefacts of the Type A burials at Cobern Street suggest in an unambiguous manner that the people represented were Khoikhoi. Despite this the Type A burials were vertically flexed, but also include grave good. This is consistent with the archaeological variability.

The Type C graves present a more difficult problem in identification. One possibility is that the Type C burials represent early use of the site by indigenous peoples. However this is unlikely as there are no excavated examples of precolonial extended burials in southern Africa (Morris



Doe Stettentot, So als men hem op de Neger Joes legt, en in een bind in syn Vel of Larefs om te begraven.

Figure 6.6: "Preparing a Corpse for Burial" (after Raper & Boucher

1992a; Inskip 1986). Alternatively they could represent missionised Khoisan peoples. Niche burials in which the body is extended on its side could signal a convergence of indigenous and European burial patterns. The niche functions in the same manner as a coffin; to protect the contents of the grave (February 1995; Morris 1992a). At the Vredendal graveyard there are a number of niche graves, however the bodies are all interred extended on their backs (February 1995). February (1995) has postulated that this represents a transition between indigenous and Christian burial practices, with the niche retained *in lieu* of a coffin for economic reasons. A similar pattern is described by Morris (1992a) at a Griqua cemetery in Cambell in the north-western Cape. As all the bodies are extended, this is probably not the appropriate conclusion.

Another, and the most likely, possibility is that these side burials represent Muslim interments. Between 1750 and 1830, Muslims made up about one third of Cape Town's population (DeCosta 1985). Therefore it would be surprising if they were not represented at the site, even if burial at Cobern Street was not within a general Islamic context, for example, as the result of mass burial due to smallpox mortality (Alexander 1979). At the Cape, traditional Islamic burial practices have the body interred on its right side, and placed into a niche cut into the left side of the grave. The body would then be covered by planks covered with clay, or stones if wood was unavailable, to protect the corpse, and there would have been no additional inclusions in the grave (A. Davids, personal communication). The Chinese followed a similar practice, with the exception of the niche. In the early years of the colony, before a separate cemetery was designated for Muslim interments, there would have been no religious separation of slave burials (A. Davids, personal communication).

In describing the funeral of a young Muslim girl in the mid-nineteenth century, George French Angas wrote: "The funeral party came winding up the hill and along the narrow paths amongst the flowers, till they halted at a newly-dug grave, not perpendicular, like ours, but hollowed out from the side of the pit. There was no coffin; the body, wrapped in white cloth, was borne upon a bier, covered with a canopy of rose-coloured cotton. Two men descended into the grave, and the corpse with great care was slipped gently down from the bier, hid from sight beneath a sheet held by four men, who thus concealed the grave until the body is carefully laid in the niche or recess, and shut in with boards and stopped with grass, by the officiating priest" (Angas 1974:5). DaCosta writes, "although there is almost no deviation from the teachings of Islam with regard to the burying of a corpse, there are deviations in other aspects of burial practice which indicate an assimilation by the community of some of the practices of the dominant culture in greater Cape Town" (DaCosta 1985:145). This would account for some variability among the burials.

At the moment, there is not enough evidence to definitively identify the Type C burials, or any of the others, as Muslim. However, this does seem the most likely possibility. If later evidence should prove that they are, it will be necessary to liaise closely with the Muslim community via the Muslim Judicial Council, to determine the fate of the skeletons, as Islamic law strictly forbids the opening of a grave if there is any possibility that there might still be intact skeletal remains (DaCosta 1985).

In summary, the Cobern Street site was first used about 1200 years ago by Khoikhoi pastoralists. The site would have been appealing as it was located between two major watering points, a pond on what is now Green Point Common and the lower reaches of streams flowing from

Table Mountain into the Bay. The cairn markers over the graves would have signalled to passers by that this was a burial place. By the early eighteenth century the cairns were hidden below the land surface, however the area once again became a place of interment. By 1755, but possibly somewhat earlier, the growing Cape colony began to use the area for the disposal of their dead. From the mid eighteenth century into the nineteenth century a number of burial grounds were established in the area of Cobern Street, stretching from Buitengracht north-westwards towards Green Point. Some individuals were deemed unworthy of a formal church burial, and so the Cobern Street burial ground came into use. Slaves imported from eastern central Africa, Madagascar and south-east Asia; Chinese convicts banished to the Cape; low rank soldiers and sailors; Khoisan labourers; and freeblack (freed slaves), of both Christian and Muslim religious backgrounds, might have found Cobern Street the only available final resting place. The result is a cultural mixture of people, closely representative of the eighteenth century Cape Town community.

Conclusions

This thesis has attempted to detail the archaeology of the Cobern Street Burial Ground, by discussing the background to the excavation, documenting the burial patterns and artefacts, and interpreting the results.

Cobern Street is distinct from other historical graveyards excavated in the greater Cape Town area, in that there was a large population sample from a known time period, excavated under controlled conditions.

The Cobern Street excavation was a rescue excavation conducted by Alan Morris and the Archaeology Contracts Office at the University of Cape Town. The circumstances surrounding the excavation were not ideal, as a proper research strategy was not possible at the start of the project. Additionally there was insufficient time available in which to conduct the excavation. Ideally the historical research should be

completed first, and an evaluation of other burial sites made so that specific questions could have been posed prior to exhumations. Burial remains, if at all possible, should not be disrupted without a clear understanding of their historical context. Additionally, a team of relevant specialists; historians, archaeologists, and physical anthropologists, should be consulted in establishing a relevant and effective research strategy. This is important, in avoiding the creation of additional questions and problems, and ensuring that no data is lost.

Contract excavations often present problems for research based archaeology. This is because the primary concern of contract archaeology has generally been reconnaissance. Additionally, it is rarely possible to re-examine sites once a contract has been completed; there is generally a disparity between the excavators and the analysts; and in many cases there is a lack of a proper research paradigm. These have all been factors with the Cobern Street project. However, Cobern Street remains a potentially important part of the colonial record. It has been one of the first relatively intact glimpses at eighteenth century burial practices, and the first large sample suitable for examining health and demographics during this time period. In the future, as other facets of the analysis are completed, it may present an excellent collection to compare with historical burial grounds in other parts of the world, such as the Newton Plantation slave cemetery in Barbados, and the African Burial Ground in New York City.

Internationally, historical cemeteries have long been a means for examining religious and cultural changes (c.f.: Jamieson 1995; Little *et al* 1992; McGuire 1988; Francavigila 1971). At the outset it was expected that Cobern Street would present an opportunity for addressing changes

at the Cape. Unfortunately temporal control at the site was limited. Although general burial patterns could be recognised, it was not possible discern if and how these patterns changed over time. Other colonial period burial sites have been excavated in the Cape Town area (c.f. Cox & Sealy in press; Hart & Halkett 1996a; Hart & Halkett 1996b; Cox 1995; February 1995; Hart & Halkett 1995; Sealy *et al* 1993; and Abrahams 1983), however they do not present an adequate comparable data set for addressing these issues. Should another urban site with comparable burial numbers be excavated, there may be the possibility of accessing changes in mortuary practices and social values. It may also be possible to evaluate some of the assumptions made about the Cobern Street collection.

Early on, it was suggested that Cobern Street was an informal burial ground, established on the fringes of the formal colonial graveyards. The historical evidence and haphazard nature of the interments seem to support this supposition. The site appears on period maps, outside the other, neatly walled cemeteries in the area. Though there is a general consistency in the orientation of the bulk of the burials (Type B), they are not neatly or coherently laid out, and tend to disrupt one another, none of which would be expected from a formal and well tended site of interment. Who, exactly, was interred here is not entirely clear, however several possibilities have been proposed.

At the outset of this project a number of questions regarding colonial burial practices, and the identity of the individuals from Cobern Street were put forth which would presumably be reflected in the burial patterns, and many of them remain unanswered. Who interred the bodies at Cobern Street; family, peers, or "the system"? Is there a distinction

between slaves, freeblacks, convicts, soldiers and sailors, all members of the Cape Town underclasses, that can be revealed almost exclusively on archaeological evidence? These questions were framed with the knowledge that burial patterns are more reflective of the living than the dead. Many of the groups, who are in all probability represented at the site; slaves, convicts, transient soldiers and sailors, and smallpox victims, may not have had much say in the fate of their remains, and their corpses were probably disposed of as quickly and conveniently as possible. Mortuary practices are like all other cultural practices, complex in origins and symbolism, and manipulated to suit changing needs and desires. Myriad factors led to the existence of the Cobern Street burial ground, the manner in which the individuals were treated, and the changing use of the space over time.

Morris cautions that the cultural affiliation of individual skeletons cannot be established based on burial style alone (Morris 1992a). This thesis, however, is only a point of departure. The Cobern Street excavation has been the first in Cape Town to yield a sufficient data set for a large scale, inter-disciplinary attempt to address historical burial practices. As the physical anthropological evaluation is completed, and stable isotope analysis is used to reconstruct life histories and is combined with the archaeological evidence, some of these issues brought up in this thesis but not adequately addressed, may begin to fall away, allowing a clearer view of cultural identity in eighteenth century Cape Town.

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Appendix 1: Burial Descriptions¹

Burial 3: UCT 460

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 20 years

Pathologies: None.

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The body was extended on its back with the hands folded over the pelvis. The head was facing away from Cobern Street. The right foot was missing, most likely due to a later disturbance. An iron shackle was found around the left leg. Additional artefacts included buttons.

Burial 4: UCT 458.1

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 17-18 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 4 was a coffin burial. The burial was extended on its back and the arms were folded over the pelvis. The axial orientation was towards Somerset Road. The skeleton was in poor condition, however all the bones were recovered. Burials 4 and 9 may have been in the same coffin, and some of the bones recovered with Burial 4 may belong to Burial 9. Coffin nails were recovered.

Burial 5: UCT 461

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 20-30 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

¹ The burial descriptions were reconstructed from Halkett, Hart, & Morris 1995, and from Constant & Louw 1997; Holtzhausen & Slater 1997; and Morris & Phillips 1997.

Description: Burial 5 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back and the hands were folded over the pelvis. The axial orientation was towards Somerset Road. No cranium was recovered, and the feet were only partially recovered as they ran into the sides of the foundation trench. The skeleton was associated with coffin nails, and clear dark soil stains indicate the sides of the coffin.

Burial 6: UCT 459.1

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 20-30 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The body was extended on its back with the head hands were folded over the pelvis. The head axial orientation was towards Somerset Road. The skeleton was only recovered from the lumbar vertebra down, and the bones were in poor and fragmentary condition.

Burial 7: UCT 459.2

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 18 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The body was extended on its back with the axial orientation was towards Somerset Road. The burial was only partially recovered. There was no evidence of a coffin. It seems that one of the hands from Burial 7 was recovered during the excavation of the cranium from Burial 3.

Burial 8: UCT 459.3

Type D

Sex: Unsexable

Age: 9-10 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 8 was classified as a bone scatter and appears to have been disturbed during the process of interring Burial 3.

Burial 9: UCT 458.2

Type B

Sex: Unsexable

Age: 10-12 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The body was extended on its back and the hands were folded over the pelvis. The axial orientation was towards Somerset Road. There was no cranium present, however the burial was only partially excavated due to time constraints.

Burial 10: UCT 498

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 35-40 years

Pathologies: Scoliosis; Osteoarthritis on clavicles; Fusion of right Talocalcaneal joint, crutches were probably used to walk

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 10 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back with the arms crossed over the torso. The axial orientation was south-west. The top 20cm of the burial shaft had a large bone concentration. Artefacts consisted of iron nails and some wood fragments.

Burial 11: UCT 499

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: +40 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 11 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back with the arms folded across the body and the legs crossed. The axial orientation was south-west. There was no cranium present. Artefacts consisted of iron nails and wood fragments.

Burial 12: UCT 500

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 35-45 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 12 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back with the hands folded over the body and the legs were crossed. The axial orientation was south-west. The cranium was missing, possibly due to an earlier disturbance. Burial items consisted of iron nails and wood fragments. Associated with Burial 12 and/or Burial 11 were metal buttons found between the femora in midline below the pelvis, and one eyelet.

Burial 13: UCT 501

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 30-40 years

Pathologies: Left leg trauma and infection with subsequent ankylosis of left knee; spondylolysis

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 13 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back with the hands folded over the pelvis. The axial orientation was south-west. Artefacts consisted of nails, wood and shroud pins.

Burial 14: UCT 502 & 503

Type B

Sex (14A): Female

Sex (14B): Unsexable

Age (14A): 45-55 years

Age (14B): Infant

Pathologies: **14A:** Calcification of fourth lumbar vertebra; **14B:** None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 14 was a coffin burial that contained two individuals, and adult (14A) and a child (14B). Burial 14A was extended on the back, with the child's skull next to the woman's left femur. The axial orientation was south-west. The woman's arms lay at the sides of her body. Copper stains on the chin of Burial 14A, and a pin found adhering to a piece of cloth suggests a burial shroud. Artefacts consisted of coffin hardware, and beads. The beads were found around the neck area of Burial 14A. Associated with the child, was a clay pipe stem.

Burial 15: UCT 504

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 25 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 15 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back and the arms lay at the sides of the body. The axial orientation was south-west. Artefacts associated with Burial 15 were coffin hardware, buttons, cuff links, and wood.

Burial 16: UCT 506

Type B

Sex: Unsexable

Age: Neonate

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 16 was a coffin burial. The axial orientation was south-west. Artefacts included nails and a pin.

Burial 17: UCT 507

Type B

Sex: Unsexable

Age: Neonate

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 17 was a coffin burial consisting of scattered bones. The orientation of the coffin outline was not clear. Artefacts included nails, and a pin.

Burial 18: UCT 508

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 40-50 years

Pathologies: Global Osteoarthritic changes (humerus, scapula, vertebra); fusion of ankle

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 18 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back, with the hands clasped on the waist. The axial orientation was south-west. Artefacts included a clay pipe, coffin hardware, pins, wood fragments and shell fragments. Skeletal material from a second individual consisted of a few rib and vertebral fragments.

Burial 19: UCT 509

Type D

Sex: Male

Age: Adult

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The new building cut off part of the lap of Burial 19. Only pelvis and leg fragments were recovered.

Burial 20: UCT 510, 511 & 512

Type B?

Sex (20A): Male

(20B): Female

(20C): Unsexable

Age (20A): 25-30 years

(20B): 16 years

(20C): 1.5-2 years

Pathologies: 20A: None; 20B: Cribra orbitalia; pitting of parietal bones; extensive abscess affecting central and lateral maxillary incisors; 20C: None

Dental Modifications: 20A: Yes; 20B: Yes; 20C: None

Descriptions: Burial 20 was a coffin burial that contained three individuals. 20A and 20B are lying back to back and appeared to be a couple buried together. One individual had its hand resting on the shoulder of the other, indicating that they were most likely buried at the same time. The axial orientation was north. The cranium of the child was in-between the two adults. Artefacts were coffin hardware and stone cobbles. There were also fragments from a fourth individual -Burial 20D- which was very fragmented and probably part of the shaft fill.

Burial 21: UCT 514

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 25-35 years

Pathologies: Osteoarthritis of lumbar vertebra and T12 costovertebral

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 21 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back with the hands placed partially underneath the hips, as opposed to over the top. The axial orientation was south-west. The mandible was pushed beneath the maxilla. There was no right hand, possibly a result of disturbance from the interment of Burial 20. Slight traces of copper stains may indicate shroud pins. Artefacts included coffin hardware, snapped cane beads, and limpet shells.

Burial 22: UCT 515

Type B

Sex: Unsexable

Age: 12-14 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 22 was a headless, legless torso. The axial orientation was south-west. The torso, neck, and pelvis were found articulated, part of the arm, the clavicle and scapula were missing. Part of the femur was present but the lower legs appear to have been lost during a disturbance. The burial was disturbed by Burial 15, a portion of which may have encroached on the grave. Artefacts consisted of iron nails.

Burial 23: UCT 516

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 17-19 years

Pathologies: Arthritis of vertebra; tooth abscess on the right mandible

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 23 was a coffin burial. The arms were placed at the sides of the torso and the legs extended under the section. Burial items consisted of coffin hardware and wood fragments.

Burials 24 & 25: UCT 517 & 518

Type D

Sex (24): Male

Sex (25): Male

Age (24): 20-25 years

Age (25): 35-40 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burials 24 and 25 were bone scatters. Only some vertebrae were articulated. Burial 24 had iron nails and earthenware sherd. Artefacts recovered with the two burials were 1 iron strap.

Burial 26: UCT 519

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: +50 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 26 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back. The axial orientation was south-west. Artefacts consisted of coffin hardware, and 1 metal loop or ring.

Burial 27: UCT 521

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 40-50 years

Pathologies: Arthritis of right glenohumeral (shoulder) and elbow joint

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 27 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back with the hands folded over the pelvis. The axial orientation was north-east. The head was crushed, with the face in two pieces. The burial shaft was full of human bone, with indications of multiple disturbances. Burial 27 penetrated a previous burial, Burial 38. Artefacts consisted of coffin hardware, 1 iron cut-throat razor blade, shroud pins, buttons, beads, and a coarse porcelain sherd.

Burial 28: UCT 522

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 50 years

Pathologies: Osteoarthritis of sacrum and vertebra

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The body was extended on its back with the left arm bent and extended up to the shoulder. The feet were crossed. The axial orientation was south-west. The burial was poorly preserved, and very close to the surface. The skull was crushed and tilted to the right. There

was some evidence of disturbance to the legs. Artefacts consisted of nails, and a glass fragment.

Burial 29: UCT 523.1

Type B

Sex: Unsexable

Age: Neonate

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 29 was coffin burial. The axial orientation was north. The body was partially damaged during excavation. Artefacts were coffin hardware and copper pins. Burial 29 was classified as a Type B burial due to the nature of the accompanying artefacts.

Burial 30: UCT 524

Type B

Sex: Unsexable

Age: 5 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 30 was a coffin burial. The axial orientation was south-west. The upper portion of the torso was demolished and may be in the shaft fill of Burial 27. Artefacts recovered were coffin hardware and 3 shells

Burial 31: UCT 525

Type B

Sex: Unsexable

Age: Neonate

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 31 was a coffin burial. The axial orientation was south-west. The coffin lid had collapsed onto the child. Artefacts were iron nails, shroud pins and wood fragments.

Burial 32: UCT 526

Type C

Sex: Male

Age: 50-60 years

Pathologies: General arthritis and especially of the temporal mandibular joint

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 32 was positioned partially on its right side with the arms folded over the body. The axial orientation was west. There was no evidence of a coffin, instead it was in a pit dug into the underlying yellowish gravel. The burial was disturbed and the pit may have intersected the pit of Burial 37. Artefacts consisted of an intrusive Khoi pot fragment.

Burial 33: UCT 527

Type D

Sex (33A): Unsexable **Sex (33B):** Unsexable

Age (33A): Adult **Age (33B):** Adult

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 33 is being classified as a bone scatter as it was actually two partially disturbed burials. Burials 33A and 33B consisted of three lower legs. The burial was disturbed by the house foundation. Artefacts consisted of nails.

Burial 34: UCT 528

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 14-15 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 34 was extended on its back with the hands were folded over the pelvis. The axial orientation was west. There were no artefacts recovered.

Burial 35: UCT 529

Type D

Sex: Unsexable

Age: 3 Adults, 1 Child

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 35 was classified as a bone scatter. It appears that the remains of four individuals who were partially re-buried after having been exhumed for a later interment. There was 1 iron nail recovered.

Burial 36: UCT 530

Type B?

Sex: Unsexable

Age: Foetus (27-35 weeks)

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: It was not possible to determine the orientation of the body, however Burial 36 was classified as a Type B coffin burial due to the nature of the accompanying artefacts. Artefacts consisted of iron nails, pins, a thimble, and wood fragments.

Burial 37: UCT 531 & 532

Type A

Sex (37A): Female

Sex (37B): Unsexable

Age (37A): 50-60 years

Age (27B): 10-12 years

Pathologies: 37A: Osteoarthritis of vertebra; 37B: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 37 was Later Stone Age burial containing two individuals. Burial 37A was interred in a vertical flexed position facing east, the body was leaning back partially against the pit wall with the knees drawn up and the chin apparently resting on the knees. The edge of the pit is what appears to be a cache of mixed shell. A cairn was built over the burial. Two of the rocks from the cairn were grindstones, and dense pockets of shell were interspersed among the rocks of the cairn. The second individual, 37B, was interred beneath the first lying on its side and economically packed into the pit base. Artefacts included a Khoikhoi pot identified, a cow phalange, and stone tools.

Burial 38: UCT 533.1

Type D

Sex: Unsexable

Age: 7-9 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 38 consisted of disarticulated skeletal material.

Burial	UCT	Artefact	Quantity	Material	Description	Group
18	508	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
18	508	Straps	5	Iron		Coffin Hardware
18	508	Back Plate	1	Iron	Back plate for coffin handle	Coffin Hardware
18	508	Coffin Handles	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
18	508	Corner	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
18	508	Tobacco Pipe	1	Clay	Complete Dutch Pipe: 1727-91; 51, 5cm stem, 2,1mm bore diameter. *man op de spies* mark at heel base. JVOVERE/IN GOLDA band decoration	Coffin Hardware Personal
18	508	Pins	2	Copper		Burial Item
18	508	Shell		Shell		Intrusive
18	508	Wood		Fragments Shell		Coffin Hardware
20A/B/C	510-512	Coffin Handle		Iron		Coffin Hardware
20A/B/C	510-512	Stone Cobbles	2	Stone	Natural	Intrusive
21	514	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
21	514	Coffin Handle with Back Plate	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
21	514	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
21	514	Straps	4	Iron	e: 1,5cm	Coffin Hardware
21	514	Straps	5	Iron	e: 1,9cm	Coffin Hardware
21	514	Beads	2	Glass	Snapped Cane beads, red with grey/black lines	Coffin Hardware
21	514	Iron Fragments		Iron		Personal
22	515	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Tack	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Straps	2+	Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Back Plate	1	Iron	Back plate from coffin handle	Coffin Hardware
23	516	Iron Fragments		Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Wood Fragments		Wood		Coffin Hardware
24/25	517/518	Strap	1	Iron		Intrusive
26	519	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
26	519	Coffin Handle w/Back Plate	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
27	521	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
27	521	Corners	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
27	521	Coffin Handle w/Back Plate	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
27	521	Razor Blade	1	Iron	*Cut throat* razor blade	Personal
27	521	Pins	2	Copper		Burial Item
27	521	Calf Links	2	Silver	Domed with moulded eye, 2 holes for expansion gases, linked, 1,3cm	Clothing
27	521	Buttons	2	Silver	Domed with moulded eye, 2 holes for expansion gases, 1,3cm	Clothing
27	521	Button Discs	33	Bone	1,5cm-2,2cm	Clothing
27	521	Buttons	4	Copper	Domed, 1,3cm	Clothing
27	521	Buttons	13	Copper	Flat disc, 1,4cm	Clothing
27	521	Bead	1	Glass	Large blue white and red striped barrel bead	Personal
27	521	Bead	1	Glass	Medium, red	Personal
27	521	Bead	1	Glass	Black with red stripes	Personal
27	521	Bead	1	Glass	Small and medium white beads	Personal
27	521	Beads	30	Glass	Small and medium dark beads	Personal
27	521	Beads	24	Glass		Personal

Burial	UCT	Artefact	Quantity	Material	Description	Group
27	521	Bone Fragment	1	Bone	Blackened	Intrusive
27	521	Porcelain	1	Porcelain	Coarse, fragment	Intrusive
28	522	Nail		Iron		Intrusive
29	523	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
29	523	Strap	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
29	523	Corner	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
30	524	Strap	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
30	524	Shells	3	Shell	2 Limpets	Intrusive
31	525	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
31	525	Pins	17	Copper		Burial Item
31	525	Wood	Fragments	Wood		Coffin Hardware
32	526	Khoikhoi Pot	Fragments	Clay	Khoikhoi	Intrusive
33A/B	527	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
36	530	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
36	530	Pin	1	Copper		Burial Item
36	530	Thimble	1	Brass		Personal
36	530	Wood	Fragments	Wood		Coffin Hardware
37A/B	531/532	Shells	Many	Shell		LSA
37B	532	Khoikhoi Pot	Fragments	Clay	Typical Khoikhoi max. height 290mm; max. body diameter 720mm; ovoid vertical shape, elliptical horizontal shape; wall thickness 7mm-8.5mm, colour light brown to light grey, mamilliform bosses on opposite sides of shoulder	LSA
37A/B	531/532	Grindstone	1	Stone	lower, grinding facets on 2 sides, groove-like in form, recovered from cairn, not similar to Kasteelberg	LSA
37A/B	531/532	Flake	1	Igneous	recovered from cairn	LSA
37A/B	531/532	Flake	1	Quartz	Chunk, recovered from cairn	LSA
39	534	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
39	534	Straps	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
39	534	Pin	1	Copper		Burial Item
39	534	Shell	1+	Shell	Limpet	Intrusive
41	536	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
41	536	Corners	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
41	536	Straps	2	Iron	Large	Coffin Hardware
41	536	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
41	536	Razor Blade	1	Iron	"Cut throat" razor blade	Personal
41	536	Button	1	Copper/Brass	Rounded head, 1.2cm	Clothing
41	536	Button Discs	4	Bone	1.3-1.5cm	Clothing
41	536	Tobacco Pipe	1	Clay	Pipe with tobacco. Dutch: 1727-1824; "17 gekroond" on heel base, decorative rouletting around bowl rim, copper staining on bowl and stem	Personal
41	536	Tobacco Plug	1	Tobacco	Found in association with pipe (?)	Personal
41	536	Wire Circlet with Fabric	1	Copper/Brass		Personal
41	536	Tinderbox with lid	1	Brass		Personal
41	536	Link Chain	2	Copper/Brass	1 small, 1 larger	Personal
41	536	Flints	2	Grey Flint	1 w/fabric, 1 w/metal stain	Personal
41	536	Metal Disc	1	Copper/Brass	Perforated	Personal
41	536	Striker	1	Iron	Oval	Personal
42	539	Bowl	1	Tortoise Carapace	Tortoise carapace bowl fragments	LSA

Burial	UCT	Artefact	Quantity	Material	Description	Group
42	539	Shells		Shell		USA
42A/B	539/540	Stone Tool	1	Igneous	Found above grave, mixed in with cairn	USA
42A/B	539/540	Grindstone	1	Igneous	utilised, appears to be battered or ground from cairn	USA
42B	540	Ochre		Ochre	Recovered from cairn	USA
42B	540	Kesheshol Pot		Fragments Clay		USA
44	542	Nails		Iron	Found above grave	Intrusive
44	542	Straps	?	Iron	Found above grave	Intrusive
44	542	Corner	1	Iron	Found above grave	Intrusive
44	542	Nails		Iron	Found above grave	Intrusive
44	542	Straps	4	Iron		Coffin Hardware
44	542	Corner	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
44	542	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
45	543	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
48	546	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
48	546	Fitting	1	Iron	Had fabric impression	Coffin Hardware
48	546	Pin	1	Copper	with fabric	Coffin Hardware
48	546	Wood		Fragments Wood		Burial Item
49	547	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
49	547	Straps		Iron	1 with fabric impression	Coffin Hardware
49	547	Pins	18	Copper		Coffin Hardware
49	547	Tinderbox	1	Copper/Brass		Coffin Hardware
49	547	Sinker	1	Iron		Burial Item
49	547	Flint	1	Grey Flint		Coffin Hardware
49	547	Tobacco Pipe	1	Clay	English: 1748-1770 "TJD" on bowl and heart on the side of the heel	Personal
50	548	Nails		Iron		Personal
50	548	Straps	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
51	549	Nails	15+	Iron	Probably hinges	Coffin Hardware
51	549	Straps	2+	Iron		Coffin Hardware
51	549	Hinge Straps	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
51	549	Button Discs	7	Bone		Coffin Hardware
51	549	Earthenware Sherd	1	Earthenware/Redware	Perforated with slip on one side, appears to have been a pendant	Clothing
52	550	Nails		Iron		Personal
52	550	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
52	550	Straps	?	Iron		Coffin Hardware
52	550	Strap Hinges	2 Pairs	Iron		Coffin Hardware
52	550	Penknife	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
52	550	Wood		Fragments Wood		Personal
52	550	Fabric		Fragments Fabric		Coffin Hardware
52	550	Tobacco Pipe Bowl	1	Clay	Dutch: 1690/1725-1847, 1.5" ongckroond at heel base	Clothing
52	550	Flint	1	Grey Flint	Pyramatic	Personal
52	550	Button	1	Copper	Flat disc with soldered eye, with mother of pearl inlay encircled by triangles, 2.5cm	Clothing
52	550	Button	1	Copper	Hollow domed with soldered eye and star engraving, 1.5cm	Clothing
52	550	Buttons	2	Copper/Brass	Flat disc with soldered eye, 2.8cm	Clothing
52	550	Button	1	Copper/Brass	Flat disc with soldered eye, molded heraldic horse (?) with "feathered" border, 2.8cm	Clothing

Burial	UCT	Artifact	Quantity	Material	Description	Group
52	\$50	Button	1	Copper/Brass	Flat disc with soldered eye, 1.8cm	Clothing
52	\$50	Buttons	2	Copper/Brass	Stamped with drilled eye, may have been covered in fabric, 1.6cm	Clothing
52	\$50	Button	1	Copper	Flat disc with soldered eye, may have been covered in fabric, 1.5cm	Clothing
52	\$50	Button	1	Copper	Flat disc with soldered eye, covered in cloth, 2.6cm	Clothing
52	\$50	Buttons	2	Silver	Flat disc with soldered eyes 6.5cm long, 1.5cm wide (each) with crown above, 2cm	Clothing
52/49	\$50/\$47	Nails		Iron	From scatter	Intrusive
52/49	\$50/\$47	Loop or Bent Nail	1	Iron	From Scatter	Intrusive
54	\$52	Shovel Blade	1	Iron	Split tang and square shoulders, 41cm long, 25.5cm wide	Intrusive
54	\$52	Knife	1	Bone handle, Metal Blade	Riveted between, total length 27.5cm, handle 10cm, blade 17cm	Intrusive
54	\$52	Handle	1	Bone	Hole for tang, 76mm long, 7mm wide	Personal
54	\$52	Tobacco Pipe Stem	1	Clay	Fragment	Intrusive
54	\$52	Musket Ball	1	Lead		Intrusive
55	\$53	Earthenware sherd	4	Earthenware	Coarse Indigenous earthenware with red slip (interior and exterior), 1 sherd incised with straight line	Intrusive
57	\$55	Nails		Iron		Intrusive
57	\$55	Straps	3+	Iron		Intrusive
58	\$56	Nails		Iron		Intrusive
58	\$56	Coffin Handles	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
58	\$56	Corners	3	Iron		Coffin Hardware
58	\$56	Straps and Hinges	7+	Iron		Coffin Hardware
58	\$56	Pin	1	Copper		Burial Item
60	\$58	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
60	\$58	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
60	\$58	Corners	4	Iron		Coffin Hardware
60	\$58	Straps/Hinges	4+	Iron		Coffin Hardware
60	\$58	Key Hole Plate	1	Iron	65mm long, 50mm wide	Coffin Hardware
61	\$59	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
61	\$59	Straps/Hinges	6+	Iron		Coffin Hardware
61	\$59	Shells	2	Shell		Intrusive
61	\$59	Needle Case	1	Silver	Scratched initial marks on lid (not legible)	Personal
61	\$59	Snuff Box	1	Silver	Engraved with "N.H.K. 1764"	Personal
61	\$59	Buttons	3	Copper	Flat disc with soldered eye, 1.4cm	Clothing
61	\$59	Buttons	13	Copper	Bundle with fabric, Flat disc and hollow dished @ 1.4cm	Clothing
62	\$60	Bottle Base		Glass		Intrusive
64	\$62	"Pillow"	1	Metamorphosed Shale	non-artefactual	Burial Item
64	\$62	Grindstone	1	Igneous Rock	May have been part of stone lining	LSA
65	\$63	Nails		Iron		LSA
65	\$63	Earthenware Sherd	1	Earthenware	Coarse	Intrusive

Burial 45: UCT 543

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: +50 years

Pathologies: Generalised Osteoarthritis; ankylosis spondylitis

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 45 was a coffin burial. The body was lying extended on its back with the arms were crossed over the lap. The axial orientation was south-west. Artefacts consisted of iron nails.

Burial 46: UCT 544

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 35-50 years

Pathologies: New bone growth on left calcaneus; osteophytic vertebra

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 46 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back with the arms folded over the lap. The axial orientation was south-west. Wood fragments were found over the top of the head, but there were no artefacts collected.

Burial 47: UCT 545

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 30-40 years

Pathologies: Osteoarthritis, lipping of lumbar vertebra

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The body was extended on its back with the left hand placed on the waist. The axial orientation was south-west. The skeleton was nearly complete, missing the right arm and right femur.

Burial 48: UCT 546

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: +40 years

Pathologies: Very marked changes of Osteoarthritis in shoulder, elbow and vertebra

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 48 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back. The axial position was south-west. There were metal stains on the forehead. The burial was disturbed or cut off at the waist by another burial that was interred through it. Artefacts consisted of coffin hardware, a pin with fabric, and wood fragments.

Burial 49: UCT 547

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 40 years

Pathologies: Extensive changes of generalised Osteoarthritis

Dental Modifications: Yes

Description: Burial 49 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back with the arms folded over the pelvis. The axial orientation was south-west. Artefacts consisted of coffin hardware, pins, a tinderbox, striker, flint, corroded fabric, and a clay pipe.

Burial 50: UCT 548

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 35-50 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: Yes

Description: Burial 50 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back and the arms were folded over the body. The axial orientation was south-west. The cranium was badly crushed. Artefacts consisted of coffin hardware and a metal loop or ring.

Burial 51: UCT 549

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 35-40 years

Pathologies: Cribra orbitalia; early calcific changes of vertebra

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 51 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back and the arms were at the sides of the body. The axial orientation was north-east. The individual was crammed into a very narrow coffin that overlapped Burial 47. Artefacts consisted of coffin hardware, buttons, and a perforated coarse earthenware sherd.

Burial 52: UCT 550

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 25-35 years

Pathologies: Inflammatory disease in feet; ?trauma; ?Osteoarthritis

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 52 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back and the arms lay at the sides of the body. The axial orientation was south-west. Artefacts consisted of coffin hardware, an iron penknife, fragments of wood, fragments of fabric, a pipe bowl, a flint, and buttons.

Burial 53: UCT 551

Type D

Sex: Male

Age: 35-40 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 53 was classified as a bone scatter as it consisted of a cluster of bone that was seemingly piled together, possibly a body disinterred during the opening of another grave and then re-buried.

Burial 54: UCT 552

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 30-35 years

Pathologies: Tuberculosis of spine (sixth to twelfth thoracic vertebra) with paraspinal mass affecting rib notches, left tibia also affected?

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The body was extended on its back and the hands were folded over the pelvis. The axial orientation was south-west. Artefacts recovered were a shovel blade, a bone handled knife, a pipe stem, and a musket ball.

Burial 55: UCT 553

Type B

Sex: Unsexable

Age: Child

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The body was interred with the axial orientation north-east. Artefacts consisted of coarse earthenware sherds, "Khoi" pottery sherds.

Burial 56: UCT 554

Type B

Sex: Male

Age: 35 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The body was extended on its back and the hands were folded over the pelvis. The axial orientation was south-west.

Burial 57: UCT 555

Type C

Sex: Female

Age: 20-30 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 57 was interred lying on its right side, in a niche. The axial orientation was north. Artefacts consisted of coffin hardware, an intrusion from another burial.

Burial 58: UCT 556

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 35-40 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 58 was a coffin burial. The body was extended on its back. The axial orientation was north-east. Burial items consisted of coffin hardware, and a pin.

Burial 59: UCT 557

Type C

Sex: Male

Age: +40 years

Pathologies: Osteoarthritis of vertebra

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 59 was interred on its right side. The axial orientation was north. The feet were missing, and may have been disturbed by Burial 56.

Burial 60: UCT 558

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 30 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: Yes

Description: Burial 60 was a coffin burial. The axial orientation was south-east. Only part of the burial was recovered as it goes into the section at an angle. The cranium, one arm, some vertebra, the scapula and ribs were recovered. Artefacts recovered were coffin hardware.

Burial 61: UCT 559.1

Type B

Sex: Female

Age: 20 years?

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 61 was a coffin burial. The body was interred extended on its back and the arms were folded over the torso. The axial orientation was south-west. The burial disturbed an older interment, skeletal remains of another individual were present along the edges of the shaft fill. Artefacts included coffin hardware, shells, a needle case, a snuff box, and buttons.

Burial 62: UCT 560

Type?

Sex: Unsexable

Age: 5-6 years

Pathologies: Deformed long bones, ?Syphilis

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The axial orientation of Burial 62 was north. Artefacts consisted of a fragment of a glass bottle base.

Burial 63: UCT 561

Type?

Sex: Unsexable

Age: 1 year

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: The axial orientation of Burial 63 was north. Preservation was poor.

Burial 64: UCT 562

Type C

Sex: Male

Age: 34-35 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 64 was interred lying on its right side with the arms positioned over the pelvis. The feet and head were placed in small niches cut into the sides of the burial pit. The axial orientation was north-west.

Burial 65: UCT 563

Type C

Sex: Female

Age: 22-25 years

Pathologies: None

Dental Modifications: None

Description: Burial 65 was interred on its right side. The axial orientation was north-west. There was a stone lining down the side of the grave opposite the body. Artefacts included iron nails, and 1 coarse earthenware sherd, which were not in direct association with the grave.

Appendix 1.2: Cobern Street Burial Summary

Burial UCT	Age	Sex	Type	Pathologies	Dental Ornamentation	Burial Goods	Coffin	Individuals
03	460	Male	B	None	None	Clothing, Other	None	1
04	458.1	Female	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
05	461	Female	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
06	459.1	Male	B	None	None	None	None	1
07	459.2	Male	B	None	None	None	None	1
08	459.3	?	D	None	None	None	None	1
09	458.2	?	B	None	None	None	None	1
10	498	Female	B	Yes	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
11	499	Female	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware, Clothing	Yes	1
12	500	Male	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware, Clothing	Yes	1
13	501	Male	B	Yes	None	Coffin Hardware, Burial Items	Yes	1
14A	502	Female	B	Yes	None	Coffin Hardware, Personal	Yes	1
14B	503	?	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware, Personal	Yes	1
15	504	Male	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware, Clothing	Yes	1
16	506	Neonate	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
17	507	Neonate	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
18	508	Female	B	Yes	None	Coffin Hardware, Burial Item, Personal, Intrusive	Yes	1
19	509	Male	D	None	None	None	None	1
20A	510	Male	B?	None	Yes	Coffin Hardware, Intrusive	Yes	1
20B	511	Female	B?	Yes	Yes	Coffin Hardware, Intrusive	Yes	1
20C	512	?	B?	None	None	Coffin Hardware, Intrusive	Yes	1
21	514	Female	B	Yes	None	Coffin Hardware, Intrusive	Yes	1
22	515	?	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware, Personal	Yes	1
23	516	Female	B	Yes	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
24	517	Male	D	None	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
25	518	Male	D	None	None	Intrusive	None	1
26	519	Male	B	None	None	Intrusive	None	1
27	521	Male	B	Yes	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
28	522	Female	B	Yes	None	Coffin Hardware, Burial Items, Personal, Intrusive	Yes	1
29	523.1	Neonate	B	None	None	Intrusive	None	1
30	524	?	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
31	525	Neonate	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware, Intrusive	Yes	1
32	526	Male	C	Yes	None	Coffin Hardware, Burial Items	Yes	1
33A	527	?	D	None	None	Intrusive	None	1
33B	527	?	D	None	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
34	528	Female	B	None	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
35	529	3 Adults, 1 Child	D	None	None	None	None	4

Burial UCT	Age	Sex	Type Pathologies	Dental Ornamentation	Burial Goods	Coffin	Individuals
36	Foetus (27-35 weeks)	?	B	None	Burial Items, Personal, Intrusive	Yes	1
37A	50-60	Female	A	None	LSA	None	1
37B	10-12	?	A	None	LSA	None	1
38	7-9	?	D	None	None	None	1
39	6 Months	?	B	None	Coffin Hardware, Burial Items, Intrusive	Yes	1
40	12	?	B	Yes	None	None	1
41	35-50	Male	B	None	Coffin Hardware, Clothing, Personal	Yes	1
42A	40-50	Male	A	None	LSA	None	1
42B	40-50	Female	A	None	LSA	None	1
43	35-50	Male	D	None	None	None	1
44	40-50	Female	B	None	Coffin Hardware, Intrusive	Yes	1
45	50	Male	B	None	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
46	35-50	Female	B	None	None	Yes	1
47	30-40	Male	B	None	None	None	1
48	40	Female	B	None	Coffin Hardware, Burial Items	Yes	1
49	40	Male	B	Yes	Coffin Hardware, Burial Items, Personal, Intrusive	Yes	1
50	35-50	Male	B	Yes	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
51	35-40	Male	B	None	Coffin Hardware, Clothing, Personal	Yes	1
52	25-35	Female	B	None	Coffin Hardware, Clothing, Personal, Intrusive	Yes	1
53	35-40	Male	D	None	None	None	1
54	30-35	Male	B	None	Personal, Intrusive	None	1
55	Child	?	B	None	Intrusive	None	1
56	35	Male	B	None	None	None	1
57	20-30	Female	C	None	Intrusive	None	1
58	35-40	Female	B	None	Coffin Hardware, Burial Items	Yes	1
59	40	Male	C	None	None	None	1
60	30	Female	B	Yes	Coffin Hardware	Yes	1
61	20?	Female	B	None	Coffin Hardware, Clothing, Personal, Intrusive	Yes	1
62	5-6	?	?	Yes	Intrusive	None	1
63	1	?	?	None	None	None	1
64	35-40	Male	C	None	LSA	None	1
65	22-25	Female	C	None	Intrusive	None	1

Appendix 2: Cobern Street Artefact Catalogue

Burial	UCT	Artefact	Quantity	Material	Description	Group
03	460	Button	1	Copper/Brass	Flat disc with soldered eye, 2.7cm	Clothing
03	460	Button	1	Copper/Brass	Flat disc with foot on eye in boss, 2.6cm	Clothing
03	460	Button	1	Copper/Brass	Stamped with drilled eye, 2.5cm	Clothing
03	460	Shackle	1	Iron	Two iron links fused to ankle manacle	Other
04	458	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
05	461	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
10	498	Nail fragments		Iron		Coffin Hardware
10	498	Wood Fragments		Wood		Coffin Hardware
10	498	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
10	498	Coffin Fittings		Iron		Coffin Hardware
11	499	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
11	499	Wood		Wood	Fragment	Coffin Hardware
11/12	499/500	Button	1	Copper	Flat disc with cloth cover, eye missing, 1.6cm	Clothing
11/12	499/500	Button	1	Copper	Domed with soldered eye and 2 holes for expanding gases, molded "floral" pattern with concentric circles, 2cm	Clothing
11/12	499/500	Button	1	Copper	Flat with cloth, foot on eye in boss, 2cm	Clothing
11/12	499/500	Buttons	2	Copper	Stamped with drilled eye, 1.9cm	Clothing
11/12	499/500	Button	1	Copper	Domed with soldered eye, 2 holes for expanding gases, 1.6cm	Clothing
11/12	499/500	Eyelet	1	Possibly pewter		Clothing
12	500	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
12	500	Wood		Wood	Fragments	Coffin Hardware
13	501	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
13	501	Pins	2	Copper		Burial Item
13	501	Wood		Wood	Fragments	Coffin Hardware
14A/B	502/503	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
14A/B	502/503	Fittings	4	Iron	Flat strips with splayed ends	Coffin Hardware
14A/B	502	Coffin Handles	4	Iron		Coffin Hardware
14A	502	Beads	16	Glass	Snapped cane tube beads: 6 yellow, 4 red, 4 blue, 1 green, 1 yellow with red and green stripes, 7mm-17mm long	Personal
14B	503	Tobacco Pipe	1	Clay	Thick clay pipe stem with roulette at mouth end, fragment, 2.2mm diameter	Personal
15	504	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
15	504	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
15	504	Straps	6	Iron		Coffin Hardware
15	504	Hinges	3	Iron	Flat hinge	Coffin Hardware
15	504	Corners	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
15	504	Buttons	5	Copper/Brass	Domed with soldered eye and 2 holes for expanding gases, covered in gold paint which has partially worn off, 1.7cm	Clothing
15	504	Button	1	Copper/Brass	Domed with wire eye, 1 hole for expanding gases, partially worn gold paint, 1.9cm	Clothing
15	504	Cuff link	2	Copper	Linked, molded dots in concentric circles, partially worn gold paint, 1cm	Clothing
15	504	Wood		Wood		Coffin Hardware
16	506	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
16	506	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
17	507	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
17	507	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware

Burial	UCT	Artefact	Quantity	Material	Description	Group
18	508	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
18	508	Straps	5	Iron		Coffin Hardware
18	508	Back Plate	1	Iron	Back plate for coffin handle	Coffin Hardware
18	508	Coffin Handles	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
18	508	Corner	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
18	508	Tobacco Pipe	1	Clay	Complete Dutch Pipe: 1727-91: 51,5cm stem, 2,0mm bore diameter. "man op de sjess" mark at heel base; IVOVERE/IN GOUDA band decoration	Personal
18	508	Pins	2	Copper		Burial Item
18	508	Shell	Fragments	Shell		Intrusive
18	508	Wood	Fragments	Shell		Coffin Hardware
20A/B/C	510-512	Coffin Handle		Iron		Coffin Hardware
20A/B/C	510-512	Stone Cobbles	2	Stone	Natural	Intrusive
21	514	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
21	514	Coffin Handle with Back Plate	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
21	514	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
21	514	Straps	4	Iron	c. 15cm	Coffin Hardware
21	514	Straps	5	Iron	c. 19cm	Coffin Hardware
21	514	Beads	2	Glass	Snapped Cane beads, red with grey/black lines	Personal
21	514	Iron Fragments		Iron		Coffin Hardware
22	515	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Tack	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Straps	2+	Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Back Plate	1	Iron	Back plate from coffin handle	Coffin Hardware
23	516	Iron Fragments		Iron		Coffin Hardware
23	516	Wood Fragments		Wood		Coffin Hardware
24/25	517/518	Strap	1	Iron		Intrusive
26	519	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
26	519	Coffin Handle w/Back Plate	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
27	521	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
27	521	Corners	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
27	521	Coffin Handle w/Back Plate	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
27	521	Razor Blade	1	Iron	"Cut throat" razor blade	Personal
27	521	Pins	2	Copper		Burial Item
27	521	Cuff Links	2	Silver	Domed with molded eye, 2 holes for expansion gases, linked, 1.3cm	Clothing
27	521	Buttons	2	Silver	Domed with molded eye, 2 holes for expansion gases, 1.5cm	Clothing
27	521	Button Discs	33	Bone	1.5cm-2.2cm	Clothing
27	521	Buttons	4	Copper	Domed, 1.3cm	Clothing
27	521	Buttons	13	Copper	Flat disc, 1.4cm	Clothing
27	521	Bead	1	Glass	Large blue white and red striped barrel bead	Personal
27	521	Bead	1	Glass	Medium, red	Personal
27	521	Bead	1	Glass	Black with red stripes	Personal
27	521	Beads	30	Glass	Small and medium white beads	Personal
27	521	Beads	24	Glass	Small and medium dark beads	Personal

Burial	UCT	Artefact	Quantity	Material	Description	Group
27	521	Bone Fragment	1	Bone	Blackened	Intrusive
27	521	Porcelain	1	Porcelain	Coarse, fragment	Intrusive
28	522	Nail		Iron		Intrusive
29	523	Nails	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
29	523	Strap	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
29	523	Corner	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
30	524	Strap	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
30	524	Shells	3	Shell		Intrusive
31	525	Nails		Iron	2 Limpets	Coffin Hardware
31	525	Pins	17	Copper		Burial Item
31	525	Wood	Fragments	Wood		Coffin Hardware
32	526	Khoikhoi Pot	Fragments	Clay	Khoikhoi	Intrusive
33A/B	527	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
36	530	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
36	530	Pin	1	Copper		Burial Item
36	530	Thimble	1	Brass		Personal
36	530	Wood	Fragments	Wood		Coffin Hardware
37A/B	531/532	Shells	Many	Shell		LSA
37B	532	Khoikhoi Pot	Fragments	Clay	Typical Khoikhoi max height 290mm, max body diameter 720mm, ovoid vertical shape, elliptical horizontal shape, wall thickness 7mm-8.5mm, colour light brown to light grey, mammiform bases on opposite sides of shoulder	LSA
37A/B	531/532	Grindstone	1	Stone	lower, grinding facets on 2 sides, groove-like in form, recovered from cairn, not similar to Kasteelberg	LSA
37A/B	531/532	Flake	1	Igneous	recovered from cairn	LSA
37A/B	531/532	Flake	1	Quartz	Chunk, recovered from cairn	LSA
39	534	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
39	534	Straps	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
39	534	Pin	1	Copper		Burial Item
39	534	Shell	1+	Shell	Limpet	Intrusive
41	536	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
41	536	Corners	2	Iron	Large	Coffin Hardware
41	536	Straps	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
41	536	Coffin Handle	1	Iron	"Cut throat" razor blade	Coffin Hardware
41	536	Razor Blade	1	Iron	Rounded head, 1.2cm	Coffin Hardware
41	536	Button	1	Copper/Brass	1.3-1.5cm	Coffin Hardware
41	536	Button Discs	4	Bone	Pipe with tobacco Dutch: 1727-1824, "17 gekroond" on heel base, decorative rouletting around bowl rim, copper staining on bowl and stem	Personal
41	536	Tobacco Pipe	1	Clay	found in association with pipe (?)	Personal
41	536	Tobacco Plug	1	Tobacco		Personal
41	536	Wire Cigarette with Fabric	1	Copper/Brass		Personal
41	536	Tinderbox with lid	1	Brass		Personal
41	536	Link Chain	2	Copper/Brass	1 small, 1 larger	Personal
41	536	Flints	2	Grey Flint	1 w/fabric, 1 w/metal stain	Personal
41	536	Metal Disc	1	Copper/Brass	Perforated	Personal
41	536	Striker	1	Iron	Oval	Personal
42	539	Bowl	1	Tortoise Carapace	Tortoise carapace bowl fragments	LSA

Burial	UCT	Artefact	Quantity	Material	Description	Group
42	539	Shells		Shell		LSA
42A/B	539/540	Stone Tool	1	Igneous	Found above grave, mixed in with cairn utilised, appears to be battered or ground. from cairn	LSA
42A/B	539/540	Grindstone	1	Igneous	Recovered from cairn	LSA
42B	540	Ochre		Ochre		LSA
42B	540	Khonkhai Pot		Clay		LSA
44	542	Nails		Iron	Found above grave	Intrusive
44	542	Straps	?	Iron	Found above grave	Intrusive
44	542	Corner	1	Iron	Found above grave	Intrusive
44	542	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
44	542	Straps	4	Iron		Coffin Hardware
44	542	Corner	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
44	542	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
45	543	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
48	546	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
48	546	Fitting	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
48	546	Pin	1	Copper	Had fabric impression with fabric	Coffin Hardware
48	546	Wood		Wood		Burial Item
49	547	Nails		Iron		Coffin Hardware
49	547	Straps		Iron		Coffin Hardware
49	547	Pins	18	Copper	1 with fabric impression	Coffin Hardware
49	547	Tinderbox	1	Copper/Brass		Burial Item
49	547	Striker	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
49	547	Flint	1	Grey Flint		Personal
49	547	Tobacco Pipe	1	Clay	English. 1748-1770 "TJ" on bowl and heart on the side of the heel	Personal
50	548	Nails		Iron		Personal
50	548	Straps	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
51	549	Nails	15+	Iron	Probably hinges	Coffin Hardware
51	549	Straps	2+	Iron		Coffin Hardware
51	549	Hinge Straps	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
51	549	Button Discs	7	Bone		Coffin Hardware
51	549	Earthenware Sherd	1	Earthenware/Redware	Perforated with slip on one side, appears to have been a pendant	Clothing
52	550	Nails		Iron		Personal
52	550	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
52	550	Straps	?	Iron		Coffin Hardware
52	550	Strap Hinges	2 Pairs	Iron		Coffin Hardware
52	550	Penknife	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
52	550	Wood		Wood		Personal
52	550	Fabric		Fabric		Coffin Hardware
52	550	Tobacco Pipe Bowl		Clay	Dutch. 1690/1725-1847, "LS" on ground at heel base	Clothing
52	550	Flint	1	Grey Flint	Prismatic	Personal
52	550	Button	1	Copper	Flat disc with soldered eye, with mother of pearl in-lay circled by triangles, 2.5cm	Personal
52	550	Button	1	Copper	Hollow domed with soldered eye and star engraving, 1.5cm	Clothing
52	550	Buttons	2	Copper/Brass	Flat disc with soldered eye, 2.8cm	Clothing
52	550	Button	1	Copper/Brass	Flat disc with soldered eye, molded heraldic horse (?) with "feathered" border, 2.8cm	Clothing

Burial	UCT	Artifact	Quantity	Material	Description	Group
52	550	Button	1	Copper/Brass	Flat disc with soldered eye, 1.8cm	Clothing
52	550	Buttons	2	Copper/Brass	Stamped with drilled eye, may have been covered in fabric, 1.6cm	Clothing
52	550	Button	1	Copper	Flat disc with soldered eye, may have been covered in fabric, 1.5cm	Clothing
52	550	Button	1	Copper	Flat disc with soldered eye, covered in cloth, 2.6cm	Clothing
52	550	Buttons	2	Silver	Flat disc with soldered eyes George Rex monogram ("GR" with crown above), 2cm	Clothing
52/49	550/547	Nails		Iron	From scatter	Intrusive
52/49	550/547	Loop or Bent Nail	1	Iron	From Scatter	Intrusive
54	552	Shovel Blade	1	Iron	Split tang and square shoulders, 40cm long, 25.5cm wide	Intrusive
54	552	Knife	1	Bone handle, Metal Blade	Riveted between; total length 27.5cm, handle 10cm, blade 17cm	Personal
54	552	Handle	1	Bone	Hole for tang, 76mm long, 7mm wide	Personal
54	552	Tobacco Pipe Stem	1	Clay	Fragment	Intrusive
54	552	Musket Ball	1	Lead		Intrusive
55	553	Earthenware sherd	4	Earthenware	Coarse Indigenous earthenware with red slip (interior and exterior), 1 sherd incised with straight line	Intrusive
57	555	Nails		Iron		Intrusive
57	555	Straps	3+	Iron		Intrusive
58	556	Nails		Iron		Intrusive
58	556	Coffin Handles	2	Iron		Coffin Hardware
58	556	Corners	3	Iron		Coffin Hardware
58	556	Straps and Hinges	7+	Iron		Coffin Hardware
58	556	Pin	1	Copper		Coffin Hardware
60	558	Nails		Iron		Burial Item
60	558	Coffin Handle	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
60	558	Corners	4	Iron		Coffin Hardware
60	558	Straps/Hinges	4+	Iron		Coffin Hardware
60	558	Key Hole Plate	1	Iron		Coffin Hardware
61	559	Nails		Iron	65mm long, 50mm wide	Coffin Hardware
61	559	Straps/Hinges	6+	Iron		Coffin Hardware
61	559	Shells	2	Shell		Intrusive
61	559	Needle Case	1	Silver	Scratched initial/marks on lid (not legible)	Personal
61	559	Snuff Box	1	Silver	Engraved with "MHR 1764"	Personal
61	559	Buttons	3	Copper	flat disc with soldered eye, 1.4cm	Clothing
61	559	Buttons	13	Copper	Bundle with fabric, Flat disc and hollow domed @1.4cm	Clothing
62	560	Bottle Base	Fragment	Glass		Intrusive
64	562	"Pillow"	1	Metamorphosed Shale	non-artefactual	Burial Item
64	562	Grindstone	1	Igneous Rock	May have been part of stone lining	LSA
65	563	Nails		Iron		LSA
65	563	Earthenware Sherd	1	Earthenware	Coarse	Intrusive